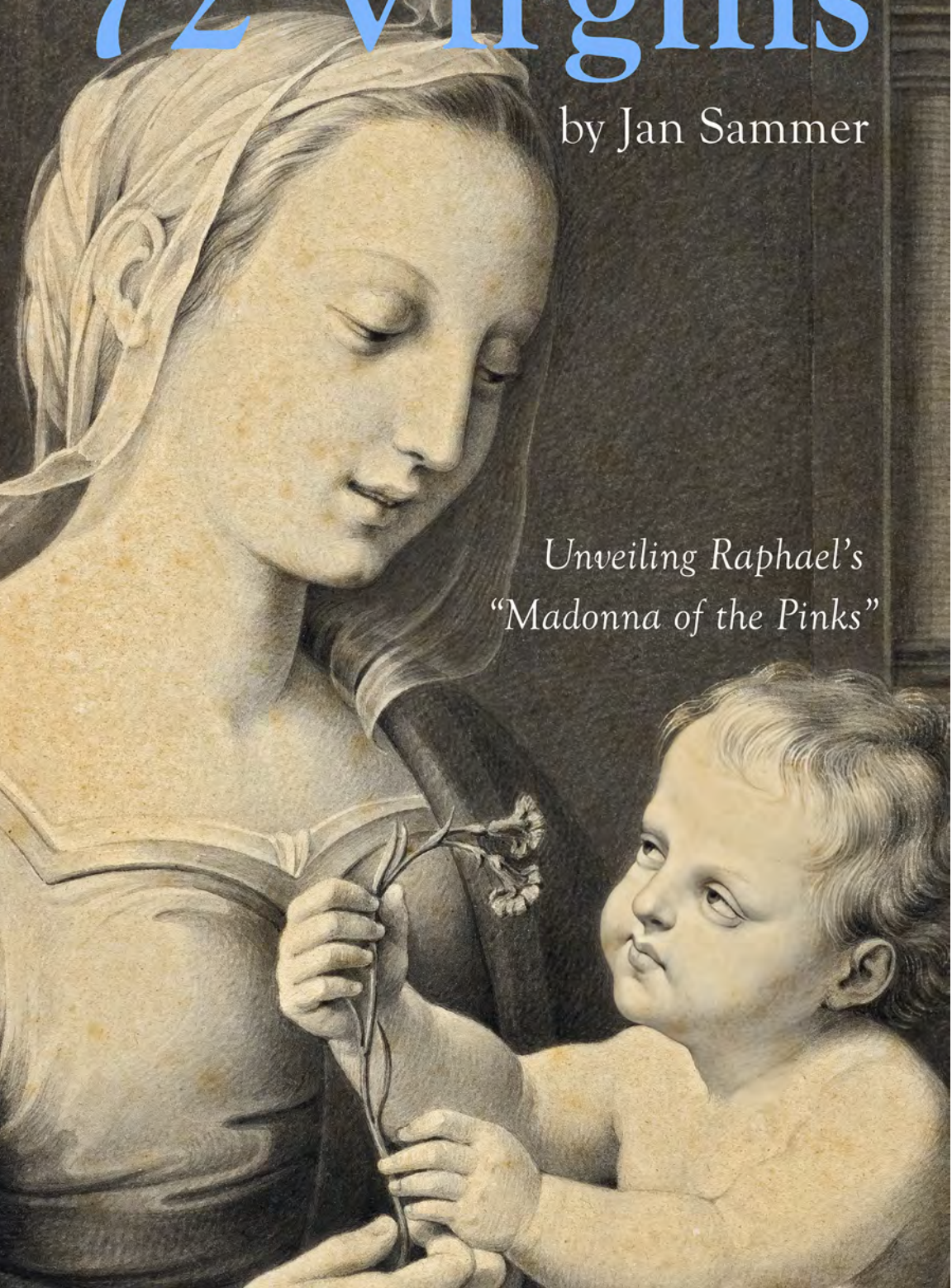


72 Virgins

by Jan Sammer

*Unveiling Raphael's
"Madonna of the Pinks"*



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COVER ILLUSTRATION: Detail of an ink-brush drawing of Raphael's presumed original, made in Rome in December 1821 by Electrine von Freyberg.

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Parentibus caris

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PREFACE

THE bulk of the research for the present volume was conducted from 2003 to 2009. In those years, the author made his results freely available online on a dedicated website. The purpose of so doing was twofold: to encourage other researches to contribute to the online project, which, it was hoped, would over time become an indispensable resource, and to prompt owners of privately-held versions of the *Madonna of the Pinks* composition to provide relevant images and documentation. While sharing the fruit of his research, the author's ultimate aim was always a standard scholarly publication. He had made a commitment in this regard to the late James Beck, who announced in his last book (*From Raphael to Duccio: The Connoisseurship in Crisis*, 2006, p. 12) that a sequel by Jan Sammer, with a systematic catalogue of the extant versions, would follow. The author was aware from an early stage of a parallel effort by Ingrid Schade-Schlieder, a doctoral candidate at the University of Würzburg, but failed to convince her of the benefits of collaboration. Appeals to principles of scholarship fell on deaf ears. She shared nothing, but that did not stop her from mining the data that the present author had made freely available online. The extent of such copying became painfully evident in 2010, when her thesis (*Die Kopien der Madonna mit der Nelke von Raffael*) made its appearance: it included – without a word of acknowledgement – numerous photographs of hard-to find versions of the composition, procured by the author with a great deal of effort and at considerable expense during his

travels in Europe and North America. Disappointing as this situation was on a personal level, the availability of the Schade-Schlieder dissertation, for all its faults – poor visual presentation, a dubious classification system, omission of key data and the lack of a proper comparative analysis – made the publication of the envisioned catalogue less urgent. Other projects intervened, particularly an ambitious effort to document the political and social background of Leonardo da Vinci's final years by means a wide-ranging and systematic exploitation of archival documents. Yet the author's resolve to eventually publish the catalogue and thereby fulfil the promise he had made to James Beck, has never waned. The extent to which he may have succeeded is left to the judgement of the reader.

In the years following the publication of the first edition in 2021, a large volume of new information has come to light, warranting the publication of the present revised edition. In recent years the author has greatly benefited from advice and guidance provided by Jan Geschke of Hamburg, to whom he is hereby expressing his sincere gratitude.



A painting in a private collection in France,
formerly in the collection of the industrialist Louis Luglien-Leroy

INTRODUCTION

THROUGH the eyes of an imaginary observer, perhaps identifiable as Saint Joseph, we catch a glimpse of the Virgin sitting sideways on a bench, her divine son on her lap. Our vantage point is at about the level of the Virgin's head and slightly above that of the child. The two figures are half-turned in our direction, so that we see both in three-quarter profile. Bright light is flooding inside the room from the left through an unseen window, previously covered by a heavy green curtain that has been pulled aside and tied into a knot behind the Virgin's back. The rest of the curtain recedes away from us, lining the entire left wall as far as the room's darkened corner that bisects the picture vertically. The corner forms a ninety-degree angle with another wall that extends all the way to the right edge of the picture. Through an arched opening in the right section of this wall we can make out the outlines of a fortress, including a tower with battlements, perched atop a distant hill and accessible by a curving pathway from the valley below. The illumination of the figures and of the structures visible through the arched opening indicates that the sun is already high up in the sky. The room we have entered appears to be near the top of a tall building overlooking a valley, since the hill with the fortress is at our eye level.¹

The Virgin is wearing a purple-grey blouse over a yellow undergarment, revealed by the tight-fitting sleeve on her right arm. The wooden bench on which she sits is partly covered by the flowing folds of her blue mantle, which is also spread over her knees. Only a small part of her golden yellow

1 I am indebted to Jan Geschke for the observation that the room in which the scene is taking place must be at an elevated location, probably inside a tower.

72 VIRGINS: *Unveiling Raphael's "Madonna of the Pinks"*

skirt, which she had pulled back before sitting down, can be seen behind her. The infant Christ sits perched on a white cushion that his mother has placed on her lap and is propping up with her knees, which she is holding slightly apart. One of the child's legs extends nearly horizontally to the right, the other points downward, the shin pressing against the Virgin's knee in order to maintain his balance. In her right hand she holds a bunch of pink carnations; the Christ Child has grabbed two of the flowers and is gazing intently at them, while holding their stem in his left hand. As he does so, his expression indicates that he has fully grasped the future



Bernardino Luini, *Madonna of the Carnation*, c. 1515
National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

they signify. A faint trace of a smile crosses the Virgin's lips, but her delight at her son's precocious act is tempered by her foreknowledge of the terrible fate that awaits him.

In Christian legend, the carnation sprang up from the Virgin's tears as she followed her son on the way to Calvary.² Its association with Christ's Passion is well documented in contemporary art.³ In a small picture dated c. 1515, Bernardino Luini portrayed the infant Christ sitting in the Virgin's lap, turning around to

grasp a carnation growing in a nearby flowerpot. His serious, knowing gaze shows that he has seen and understood his destiny and his firm grip on the flower's stem testifies to his having accepted it. His mother looks on contemplatively, her somewhat bemused expression full of sadness at what fate has in store for her only child.

² Elisabeth Wolffhardt, "Beiträge zur Pflanzensymbolik" in *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft* 8 (1954), 177-196.

³ Ingvar Bergström, *Den symboliska nejlikan i senmedeltidens och renässansens konst* (1958), p. 15: "Christ's death on the cross, the great mystery through which mankind was assured of possibility of redemption and eternal life, thus came to be expressed with the recondite symbol of the carnation." (Translation from the original Swedish)



Raphael, *Garvagh Madonna*, c. 1509-1510
National Gallery, London.

The same symbolism occurs once more in the *Garvagh Madonna*, known also as the *Madonna Aldobrandini*, a painting that dates from the early years of Raphael's Roman sojourn, that is, a few years after the *Madonna of the Pinks*. As in the latter picture, the scene is set indoors, with the infant Christ sitting on the Virgin's lap. The illumination comes from the top left. The infant St. John, bearing a reed cross in his right hand, has just handed Jesus a red carnation, a symbol of his future Passion.

As the two boys look into each other's eyes, both display a full understanding the symbolic significance of their act. In taking the flower by its stem, Jesus has freely accepted his destiny from the hand of the Baptist, who has recognised him as the long-awaited saviour. The Virgin looks at John with concern, while protectively pulling her blue robe over her son. Her melancholy expression shows that she, too, has fully understood the meaning of what is taking place before her eyes.

It is unlikely that the carnations in Raphael's composition of the *Madonna of the Pinks* would have carried a different message. The moment at which the infant Christ accepts his salvific mission is a recurring theme in Raphael's oeuvre. The Passion may be symbolised by a bird, as in the *Solly Madonna* and the *Madonna of the Goldfinch*, by a reed cross, as in the *Madonna Alba*, *Madonna del Prato*, *Madonna del Passeggio* and the *Madonna del Divino Amore*, by a specific passage in an open Book of Hours as in the *Madonna at Nones*,⁴ by a lamb as in *The Holy Family with a Lamb*, or by a scroll as in the *Canigiani Holy Family*, the *Madonna della Rosa* and the *Madonna della Quercia*, but the moment portrayed is invariably the same. Even where such acceptance is not

⁴ Anne H. van Buren, "The Canonical Office in Renaissance Painting: Raphael's *Madonna at Nones*" in *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 57, No. 1 (Mar., 1975), pp. 41-52.

portrayed explicitly, it is implied by the Virgin's prescient expression in which tenderness is combined with sadness. Where the infant Christ is shown sleeping, the symbolism concerns his transient death (*Madonna of the Blue Diadem* and the lost *Madonna del Silenzio*), or if he has just woken up, his resurrection (*Madonna di Loreto*, the *Holy Family of Francis I*). In the case of the *Madonna of the Pinks*, a problem of interpretation arises, since the version at the National Gallery in London, currently considered to be an original work of Raphael, cannot be read in this sense. Instead of contemplating the momentous implications of the scene unfolding before her eyes, that is, her son's acceptance of his divinely-appointed mission and the terrible suffering that awaits him, the Virgin in the London picture finds her son's action amusing. Not only does she smile, her mouth opens up in what James Beck memorably termed "a teeth-baring incident."⁵ With few exceptions Raphael portrayed his Madonnas with closed lips. Only the grieving Virgin of *Il Spasimo di Sicilia* opens her mouth to express her agony. Raphael's Madonnas tend to keep their mouths firmly shut, unless of course they are actually speaking, like the *Madonna della Tenda*. Parted lips among adult figures are rare. Among the few exceptions is St. John the Evangelist in the *Saint Cecilia* altarpiece in Bologna, whose mouth opens ever so slightly as he stands entranced by a heavenly melody, far surpassing any earthly one. The conclusion is unavoidable: the artist who painted the London picture read its meaning quite differently from Raphael's original intent. The prevailing view, put forward many years ago by Elisabeth Wolffhardt,⁶ is that the scene represents a sacred marriage:

Den Nelkenstrauß findet man wiederholt in Gemälden des 16. Jahrhunderts als Zeichen der Verlobung, und wenn hier Maria aus dem mit der Linken gehaltenen Nelkenstrauß Christus ein Blume reicht, so mag das ein besonders passendes Motif für ein Hochzeitsbild (quadro da sposa) sein.

The carnation bouquet is repeatedly found in sixteenth-century paintings as a sign of betrothal, and when Mary hands Christ a flower from the bouquet of carnations held in her left hand, this may be a particularly appropriate motif for a wedding picture (*quadro da sposa*).

This reading of the symbolism was further developed by Carol Plazzotta:

The pink was a traditional symbol of divine love and healing. In secular painting it symbolised friendship and often betrothal, and this meaning would be appropriate here, since the Virgin was venerated as both Mother and Bride of Christ. The latter aspect of her

⁵ James H. Beck, *From Duccio to Raphael: Connoisseurship in Crisis* (Florence, 2006), p. 80.

⁶ Wolffhardt, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

cult derives from traditional interpretations of the Old Testament Song of Solomon, in which the divine bridegroom (thought to represent Christ) is joyfully united with his heavenly bride (seen as the Virgin, and by extension, the Church).⁷

Such notions gained currency especially in the seventeenth century and are supported by texts accompanying contemporary engravings of the composition. For example, the engraving by Jean Couvay (cat. no. 9) is accompanied by a quotation from the Song of Songs “*Dilectus meus mihi et ego illi* — My beloved is mine, and I am his,” as is Luigi Povelato’s engraving from 1780 (cat. no. 5). The Christian interpretation of these passages from the Old Testament followed the publication in 1584 of Palestrina’s *Canticum Canticorum*, a series of motets based on selected verses from the Song of Songs, including *Dilectus meus mihi*. The phrase appears in its literal meaning on an engraving by Lucas Vorsterman, dated 1628, in which the infant Jesus professes his love for the Virgin by making a traditional epithalamic



Lucas Vorsterman, *Virgin and Child*, 1628.

gesture (the index and middle fingers pointing at the heart). By intently gazing into one another’s eyes both figures share the mystery of the nuptial bond. By the seventeenth century, the Latin phrase came to be attached to a wide range of engravings after works of Raphael, as well as those of contemporary artists, such as Rubens⁸ and Van Dyck,⁹ that bear little or no relation to the

⁷ Carol Plazzotta, “The Madonna of the Pinks (Madonna dei garofani)” in *Raphael: From Urbino to Rome*, cat. exh. (London, 2004), p. 190.

⁸ Engraving by Schelte Adamsz Bolswert dated c. 1625–1635, after Rubens’ *Holy Family* at the Prado, inv. no.1560.

⁹ Engraving by Coenrad Waumans (1619–1681) after Van Dyck’s *Madonna and Child* at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.



Engraving by Gilles Rousselet c. 1665 after a painting by Guido Reni, *The Meeting of Christ and Saint John the Baptist* at the Pinacoteca dei Girolamini in Naples

sacred text. The phrase appears on Jean Boulanger's engraving of Raphael's *Bridgewater Madonna* (published by François de Poilly c. 1645-1680), as well as on Vincenzo Caglieri's engraving of Raphael's *Holy Family with a Lamb*, dated 1773 – even though the picture in fact portrays Jesus' acceptance of his destiny as the Paschal lamb to be sacrificed for the sake of human salvation. It even occurs on Gilles Rousselet's engraving after a painting by Guido Reni, in which Jesus embraces John the Baptist at the inception of his ministry. Given such examples of the liberal use of the phrase

"*Dilectus meus mihi et ego illi*" by engravers in a wide variety of settings, it is no longer possible to maintain that its appearance on a given engraving testifies to the original artist's intent to portray Christ as the Virgin's divine bridegroom.

Contemporary engravings after Raphael's *Madonna of the Pinks*, namely those of Jean Boulanger and François de Poilly, carry a different message in the form of a citation from Ecclesiasticus, a text in which divine wisdom is exalted with a series of metaphors, in this case specifically: "*flores mei fructus Eccl. 24.*" The passage referred to reads in full: "*flores mei fructus honoris et honestatis, ego mater pulchrae dilectionis et timoris et agnitionis et sanctae spei*" — "flowers are the fruit of my honour and riches, I am the mother of fair love, and of fear, and of knowledge, and of holy hope." The text selected by the engraver has little connection with the scene depicted, but expresses contemporary veneration of Mary's divinity, which grew in intensity during the Counter-reformation.

Neither of these esoteric interpretations based on Old Testament texts has any parallel in Raphael's oeuvre. The coronation of the Virgin by the risen Christ after her assumption into heaven is the subject of Raphael's

Palla Oddi and the *Palla di Monteluce*, but the *Madonna of the Pinks* would be the sole instance of this mystical event being foreshadowed in a painting portraying Christ's infancy. Assuming for the moment that the infant Jesus is indeed offering flowers to the Virgin as a token of affection, foreshadowing a future mystic marriage, the Virgin's open-mouthed smile would be entirely inappropriate under such circumstances. In both of Raphael's depictions of the Virgin's coronation, the ceremony is depicted as an event of utmost solemnity. The Virgin bows her head before the risen Christ as she accepts the supreme honour being bestowed upon her. The idea that she would be amused by a symbolic foreshadowing of her future sacred union with her divine son would have been incomprehensible to Raphael or his contemporaries. The esoteric interpretations of Raphael's composition, with reference to Ecclesiasticus or the Song of Songs, whether explicit as in some of the engravings cited above, or implicit, as in many of the painted versions dating from the sixteenth century and later, are entirely foreign to Raphael's religious sensibilities or those of his patrons. Such themes gained currency much later, at the time of the Counter-reformation, and evidently influenced the work of copyists endeavouring to convey the recently-sanctioned message desired by their patrons.

The symbolic message of what might be called Raphael's *Urbild*, must have been the infant Christ's willing acceptance of his destiny, symbolised by the pink carnations, which he grasps in his right hand. He must regard them with determination, but not without an element of fear at the terrifying prospect of the suffering he must undergo. The Virgin's affection for her son must be tempered by her foreknowledge of her son's destiny, yet she too must demonstrate her willingness play her unique role in the divine plan for the salvation of mankind, with all its contingent joys and sorrows.

Not only must the *Urbild* correctly portray the emotions and thoughts of the two figures, it must match, or at least approach, Raphael's level of artistic achievement in the period that preceded his departure for Rome, such as the *Colonna Madonna*, *La Belle Jardinière*, the *Esterházy Madonna*, the *Holy Family under a Palm Tree*, the *Baglioni Altarpiece* and the *Niccolini-Cowper Madonna*. The anatomy of both figures, whether overt or hidden under draperies, must be no less true to life. Furthermore, the figures must display the kind of natural grace that is Raphael's hallmark from the very beginning of his artistic career. The colour palette must not depart too far from that employed by Raphael in the mentioned contemporary works, and the

material evidence, such as the wood support, the ground, the underdrawing, the pigments and the handling of the brush must not fundamentally diverge from his established studio practice.

In 1839 Johann David Passavant, the pre-eminent authority on Raphael in the nineteenth century, drew the following conclusion: "There are numerous old copies of this pleasing depiction of the Virgin, yet I have been unable to discover the original."¹⁰ He repeated this statement thirty years later, in the second edition of his work, after he had had the opportunity to review numerous other exemplars of the composition.¹¹ For the sake of impartiality, it will be assumed that Passavant's statement remains valid to this day, and that an authentic version that could be unequivocally attributed to Raphael is irretrievably lost, yet to be found, or has never existed, except perhaps as a studio work based on Raphael's designs. The attribution to Raphael of a version first noted in the Camuccini collection in Rome ca. 1829 and subsequently consigned to near-oblivion for more than a century at Alnwick Castle in Northumberland – until its transfer to London in 1992 and acquisition by the National Gallery in 2004 – has received wide, but by no means unanimous support. In earlier decades, other versions of this composition were hailed as Raphael's lost original by such authorities as Oskar Fischel and Adolfo Venturi, yet eventually slipped into deserved obscurity. As we examine the evidence, it will become apparent that a similar fate awaits today's leading contender.

Our aim in this study shall be to reconstruct Raphael's *Urbild*, as defined above. For this purpose, it is necessary to harvest the evidence of the surviving versions of the composition, taking into account other contemporary works of Raphael, and those of his contemporaries. The number of versions is astounding, running into the hundreds, but not all of them are able to provide information that is useful for our purpose. In our catalogue we shall consider only those versions that contribute some evidentiary value as to what Raphael's *Urbild* may have looked like and what religious message it carried. In some cases, inferior copies that entered the literature are included for historical reasons. We trust that our conclusions, based on the testimony of seventy-two Virgins of irreproachable virtue and probity, will provide a solid basis for further research.

¹⁰ Johann David Passavant, *Rafael von Urbino und sein Vater Giovanni Santi* (Leipzig, 1839), vol. II, no. 55, p. 79.

¹¹ Idem, *Raphaël d'Urbino et son père Giovanni Santi* (Paris, 1860), vol. II, no. 49, p. 62.

IN SEARCH OF THE *URBILD*

THE numerous anomalies that characterise the *Madonna of the Pinks* at the National Gallery in London, discussed in greater detail below, raise serious doubts regarding its attribution to Raphael. While undeniably executed with considerable skill, it is farther removed from Raphael's lost original in terms of its iconography and composition than some of the other versions reviewed in the present publication. The visual information provided by our review allows us to reconstruct with some confidence the appearance of what we shall call the *Urbild* – the original picture that emerged from Raphael's studio, whether he himself was its author, or whether he had entrusted the execution of his design to an assistant. The task is somewhat complicated by the fact that about a century after Raphael's death, two divergent versions of the composition were in existence:

- a) the one recorded by Jean Couvay, in which the Virgin is seated on the left, holding three flowers in her left hand and
- b) the one recorded by François de Poilly and Jean Boulanger in which the Virgin is seated on the right, holding seven flowers in her right hand.

The Couvay prototype is by far the most common, the London picture being one of its various manifestations. While in the Barberini collection in Rome and later in that of Vincenzo Camuccini, the painting gave rise a large number of copies. There are, however, other manifestations of the Couvay prototype that are independent of the London picture, as



exemplified by versions in a private collections in Vermont (cat. no. 10) and in France (cat. no. 12).

The Couvay prototype apparently arose from the Boulanger prototype at an early stage, perhaps as a result of mechanically copying the cartoon in reverse. The cumulative weight of the evidence indicates that Raphael's original composition was conceptually related to the Niccolini-Cowper



Madonna, albeit on a smaller scale, and in broad terms resembled the colourised engraving by Ridé, dated c. 1783 – 1789 (cat. no. 6). The painting engraved by Ridé, which was at that time in a private collection in Paris, was not necessarily the *Urbild* traceable directly to Raphael's studio. If it were

so, we would need to assume that the engraver, while taking extreme pains to reproduce every detail of the two figures and their indoor environment, simplified the scenery visible through the window so as to render it unrecognisable. It is equally possible that the drastic simplification of the landscape was a feature of the painting copied by Ridé, which had either suffered damage in that area over the century since it had been engraved by Boulanger, or was an unfinished copy thereof. Whatever the case may be, the deficiency in Ridé's landscape can be compensated by referring to engravings and painted versions in which the landscape with its structures is consistently portrayed, implying a common origin in the postulated *Urbild*.

Let us begin our comparison with a full view of the picture currently in London and the one formerly in Paris, as rendered by the Ridé engraving. At this scale, the most striking difference (besides the reversed orientation) is the severely constrained visual field in the London picture, compared with the Parisian one, which is also larger in absolute terms, measuring 312 x 235 mm compared to London's 279 x 224 mm.

In the London picture, the two figures appear to be boxed in; the Virgin's head nearly bumps into the upper part of the frame and her halo does so quite literally. In the Parisian picture, as mediated by Ridé, there is no halo, but ample space above the Virgin's head. The upper limit of the Parisian picture seems to be set by the top of the arch, which is represented in full and only terminated on the right as it begins its to curve downward. By contrast, only the very beginning of the left span of the arch is shown in



the London painting, quite insufficient to indicate its overall shape. It is a well-known psychological phenomenon that the viewer does not need to see a symmetrical structure in its entirety in order to understand its complete form. If given sufficient cues, the mind will fill in the missing parts. A casual glance at the two pictures shows that this mental operation cannot be accomplished with the severally truncated arch of the London picture, but comes naturally when viewing the fuller arch of the Parisian one.

Another example of the excessively constrained visual field in the London picture is the representation of the bench on which the Virgin is sitting. Only its very top edge is shown, as a result of which it is difficult to imagine the vertical continuation of the bench and drapery beneath. The Parisian picture, by contrast, shows just enough of the bench for the viewer to form an idea of its solidity, of its positioning at a slight angle to the picture plane, and of the fabric flowing down over its edge.

In the Parisian picture, the complex folds of the blue drapery covering the Virgin's legs are represented with an astounding, naturalistic dexterity; in the London one, they are mostly eliminated or flattened. Although unusual, it would not be unprecedented for an engraver to introduce new details in order to make his picture more appealing. However, the drapery folds of Ridé's engraving are no mere embellishments, but an integral part of the composition. They react to the pressure of the Virgin's knee pushing outward, and provide a bridge to the part of the drapery that covers the bench. More importantly, the folds progressing outward towards the knee allow the viewer



to trace the shape of the Virgin's thigh about half-way to her hip, to where the heel of the Child's right foot touches it. Further up, the view is blocked by a more voluminous wave of drapery. By adequately indicating the direction of the thigh above the knee with the help of highlights and parallel drapery folds, the artist has given the viewer's eye sufficient information to fill in the rest. Continuing in the same direction, the fully concealed part of the upper thigh extends inward towards the hip. By contrast, in the London picture, the path of the Virgin's upper thigh is indeterminate. Instead of forming a V-shape with the left thigh, it appears to continue leftward toward the yellow undergarment, missing the hip by a wide margin. In the London picture, the drapery folds have been flattened and simplified to such an extent, that they fail to accomplish their primary purpose of guiding the eye towards a



Raphael's *Madonna Orléans*
c. 1506-1507

sensible anatomy. No such anatomical ambiguities are discernible in Raphael's *Madonna Orléans* or in the *Niccolini-Cowper Madonna*, a subsequent re-elaboration of the current picture's theme on a larger scale. In the Parisian picture, the drapery flowing over the opposite, less visible right leg, with its deep shadows and highlights, allows the viewer to determine the limb's shape and position – it is somewhat higher than the right, accounting for the Child's forward-leaning posture. The shape of the knee is clearly discernible, and the mutual positions of the two legs are in evidence. Unlike the Virgin's barely indicated left knee in the London picture, its

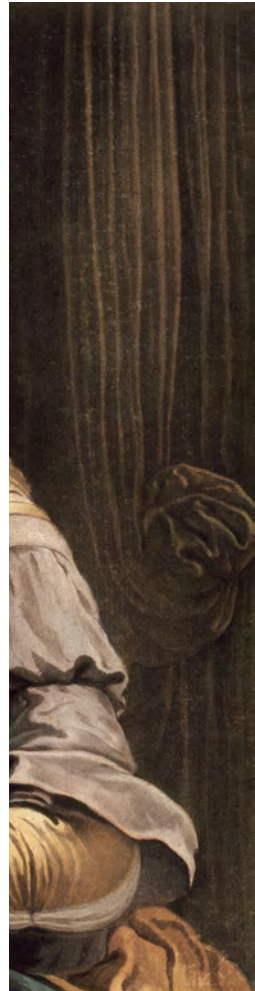
well-defined counterpart in the Parisian painting clearly indicates the inward inclination of the thigh toward the lower hip.

In contrast to the cushion of the London picture, which appears as if inflated or stuffed with foam rubber, the cushion in the Parisian picture gives the impression of being made of fine linen and filled with down, as it responds to pressure by forming folds and crinkles at just the right locations.

The loincloth depicted in the Parisian picture was not added by the engraver, as its shape is substantially the same as that on the Boulanger engraving,

produced over a century earlier. If the painting engraved by Ridé was indeed the *Urbild*, rather than a copy after the same, the loincloth would most likely have been added to the painting in the second half of the sixteenth century, after the Council of Trent banned the representation of genitals in art. Ridé's rendition of the golden yellow undergarment behind the Madonna's back, with its deep, sharply delineated grooves – compared to the smoother and more naturalistic folds in Boulanger's engraving – is unlikely to be due to Ridé's lack of competence, but is a further indication that the painting he used as his model was not Raphael's original.

Let us now proceed to compare how the two pictures render the drapes and the knot, an important element, evidently symbolising the new covenant to be sealed with Christ's blood. Compared to the knot on the Parisian picture, the London one looks as if it were carved out of wood. The green curtain, is likewise unconvincing as a hanging piece of cloth; its lack of articulation is but a poor reflection of the Parisian drapery. The Parisian knot is convoluted, its bends and loops entirely plausible, as is the sweeping curve of drapery leading up to it from below. The elongated loop hanging straight down underneath the knot in the London picture makes little sense, whereas



in the Parisian one it issues organically from the knotted maze of swirls. The highlights on the vertical folds in the Parisian picture are meticulously and correctly rendered; by comparison, those on the London one are perfunctory, unmodulated vertical brush strokes, resulting in a stiff, ligneous appearance.

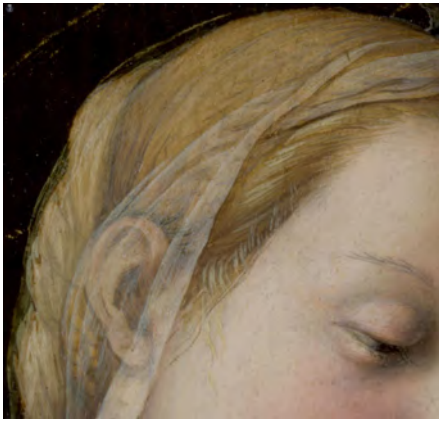
The masterly representation of the drapery in the Parisian engraving cannot be ascribed to an elaboration by the engraver. Only an artist of the first rank would be capable of such a portrayal. Ridé was a little-known engraver and book illustrator; his output is sparse, mostly consisting of portraits of historical personages; even his first name is unrecorded. It is practically unthinkable that an obscure eighteenth-century Parisian engraver would have been able to so significantly correct and improve a work of Raphael. However, we know from his own words that Ridé had access to Raphael's original composition, or an excellent copy thereof, which still existed in pre-revolutionary Paris and he clearly had the requisite skills to reproduce many of its features with relative accuracy. Since we can only guess what his model may have looked like, we cannot tell whether the weaker parts, such as representation of the landscape, are his own failings or problems with a deteriorated, on incompletely copied original. Nevertheless, without his contribution, the task of reconstructing the *Urbild* would be much more difficult.

Turning now to the Virgin's head, let us compare the treatment of the hair, the facial structure, the veil and other significant features. The Madonna's neck in the London picture looks swollen, whereas in the Parisian one it is



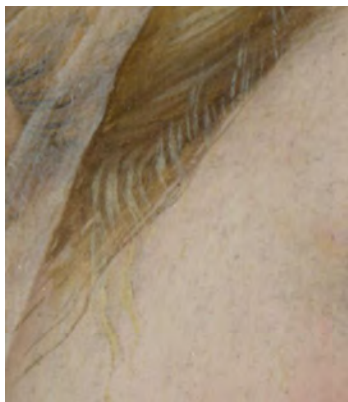
well-shaped, as in practically every other instance of a Virgin portrayed by Raphael, notably the *Niccolini-Cowper* and the *Bridgewater Madonna*. The way the outer edge of the veil rests on the Virgin's left shoulder, following its contour, is a sensitive touch in the Parisian picture, in which the viewer's eye can easily follow the veil's contours; it is tied in a loop at the top and a fold is tucked behind the ear, while its front edge falls over the earlobe and descends toward the shoulder. On the opposite side, the veil is held in place by the Virgin's blue robe that is slung over her right shoulder. In the London picture the translucent veil merges with the background in many places, making its twists and turns hard to follow; it ends at the shoulder in an upturned semi-circle with only a tenuous connection to the rest of the head covering.

Like the slightly later Niccolini-Cowper Madonna, the Virgin in the Parisian engraving has a single braid on the side of her head, meticulously delineated, each twist of the braid being individually highlighted. The London picture has a dual braid that at first sight is difficult to distinguish, being faintly indicated by criss-crossing lines, without highlights.

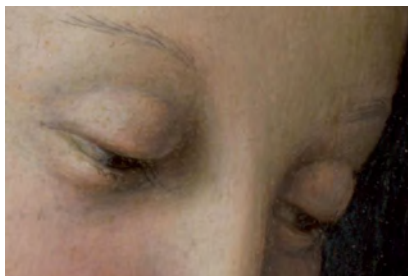


The London Madonna's earlobe is ungainly and out of proportion to the size of her head. This problem does not arise in the Parisian picture, in which the earlobe is correctly proportioned. The vertical tresses falling over the cheek of the London Madonna are depicted in a lighter colour with quick brush strokes applied after the rest of the hair had been painted. The corresponding tresses of the Parisian Madonna are an organic outgrowth of her hair, which is artfully highlighted, so that its texture becomes almost palpable.

72 VIRGINS: *Unveiling Raphael's "Madonna of the Pinks"*



The strangely swollen eyelids of the London Madonna, particularly the one above her left eye, compare unfavourably to the natural-looking eyelids of her Parisian counterpart.



The mouth of the London Madonna, unlike that of any other Madonna portrayed by Raphael, is open to the extent that several of her teeth are visible. The Parisian Madonna's lips are slightly parted, but no teeth are in evidence.



Turning now to the infant Christ's head, in the London picture his hair appears to have been painted in two separate phases. Over an well-groomed layer of hair covering the scalp, thin strands of a lighter colour have been added with quick brush strokes; they cascade over his forehead in an improvised fashion. On the Child's temple, these secondary strokes, some of them standing out against the dark background, depict the same strands of lighter hair as being loosely brushed back. These secondary brush strokes were apparently made by the same hand as the one which added the Madonna's light-coloured tresses, as noted above. In the Parisian picture, by contrast, the Child's wavy hair falls naturally over his forehead and temples.



Focusing on the eyes of the infant Christ, we note that in the London picture the iris and pupil of each eye are fused into a single dark dot, turned away from the viewer. As a result, the direction of his gaze is undefined. Viewed sideways, the human eye is translucent and in his authentic works Raphael regularly represents it as such. In the Parisian picture the iris is distinct from the pupil and the direction of the infant Christ's gaze can



therefore be determined with precision: he is looking directly at the flowers he holds in his left hand. His lower eyelids are smooth, unlike in the London picture, where they are defined by heavy creases, giving them a puffy appearance. His gaze in the Parisian picture is serious and concentrated. He clearly understands the significance of what he is seeing. In the London picture the infant's bland expression gives no inkling as to his innermost thoughts or feelings.

Also instructive is a comparison of the depictions of the Child's feet in the two paintings. In the London picture, in which the big toe is not depicted, being hidden by the Virgin's blue drapery, the four remaining toes are malformed and poorly attached to the rest of the foot. The Parisian picture, insofar as we are able to view it through the intermediary of Ridé's engraving, depicted a much more realistic foot, in which the slightly curled toes emerge naturally from the upper part of the foot.



Ridé's engraving unfortunately offers only a blurred view of the landscape observable through the window. This perfunctory view of the ruins is difficult to explain in view of the engraver's painstaking attention to detail in every other part. Perhaps this area had become damaged in the version of the *Madonna of the Pinks* then in the possession of Duflos de Maisoncelle, or – assuming the painting to be a copy of the original engraved by Boulanger and Duthé – the mentioned area had been neglected by the copyist. Whatever the case may be, in comparing the landscape in the London picture with that of the Parisian one, we cannot rely on Ridé's

engraving, but must call upon the near-unanimous testimony of engravings by other artists, such as François de Poilly, Jean Boulanger, Duthé, Luigi Povelato and Gioacchino Lepri.



In Luigi Povelato's engraving (cat. no. 5), the fortified structures in the background are depicted realistically. There is no tall rock formation, as in the London picture, but only masonry structures. The large crenelated tower is somewhat wider at the top, its outer circumference supported by narrow arches. In the London picture, these arches are replaced by dark spots, presumably meant to represent windows. The jumble of rock and masonry on the left side of the London picture lacks any discernible logic. A crenelated masonry wall stands incongruously in the midst of a rock formation. The winding path leading up to this formation and ending at the foot of the tree is indicated by a couple of brush strokes, applied so carelessly that the white pigment covers the lower part of the bushes to the left of the rock formation. In the Boulanger engraving, the path is clearly defined as it winds its way atop a rocky ledge and past a gate in the semi-ruined wall. Attached to the larger tower is a portico supported by columns. All that is left of this portico in the London picture is a dab of dark paint on the right side of the tower. The well-defined gate in the Boulanger engraving has as its counterpart in the London picture a bluish

smudge. The cloud formations, so intricately and realistically depicted in the Boulanger engraving, have been replaced by an undifferentiated white area. Nowhere else in Raphael's oeuvre is the background handled so haphazardly. It is simply unthinkable that an engraver would have been able to recast Raphael's strangely jumbled background into a logically structured and realistic landscape.

There appears to be an unbridgeable gap between the picture now in London and its many analogues, and the one that used to be in Paris, but is known today only through engravings and painted copies after engravings. However, an intermediate stage between the two is represented by a painting engraved by Jean Couvay in the middle of the sixteenth century. Assuming that the engraver rendered his model accurately, the painting had all the principal elements of the London picture – the Virgin is facing right, holding three flowers, in her left hand, the Child's forehead has an unnatural bulge at the top – with these important exceptions: the visual field is extended on all sides, the Virgin's lips are closed, there are two prominent braids in her hair, and the landscape, although greatly simplified in comparison with the Boulanger engraving, is still a realistically arranged system of partly ruined fortifications. The larger crenelated tower has lost its enlarged battlement at the top and the portico has disappeared, but there is as yet no masonry wall incongruously placed in the middle of a rocky outcrop. Instead, a smaller crenelated tower abuts the remnants of some crumbling masonry. The Virgin's visible thigh is well defined under the drapery, yet due to a simplification of its folds, it is no longer as effectively foreshortened and its path toward the hip less evident. A version closely related to the Couvay engraving is in a private collection in Vermont (cat. no. 10).

The painting engraved by Couvay appears to mark the point in the composition's development at which the series of paintings produced in Sassoferrato's studio originated (cat. nos. 54-62). In this series, the Madonna retains her contemplative expression and the infant Christ his earnest fixation on the pink carnations he is holding. The ambiguity with respect to the direction of the Child's gaze, which the version represented by Couvay inherited from the one portrayed by Boulanger, is decisively resolved by raising the flowers to a sufficiently high level. In general, the series attributable to Sassoferrato and his circle is no more successful than



A mid-seventeenth century engraving by Jean Couvay

the London picture in convincingly foreshortening the Virgin's visible thigh. An exception is the version in Detroit (cat. no. 60), apparently a more mature work, in which Sassoferrato adopted a different approach to the problem while taking considerable liberties with Raphael's composition.

The reduction of the visual field in the series of versions exemplified by the pictures in Brescia (cat. no. 19) and London (cat. no. 13) may have resulted from a copyist working from a version still in its frame, whose lip hid the outer edges from view. This would have caused the cutting off of the flowers in the Virgin's hand and the near disappearance of the arch, together with the vertical section of the bench and the left part of the knot.

By the early seventeenth century the devolution of the composition into the type exemplified by the exemplar in London was by all indications complete. Copies of this type became quite popular, as they could accommodate religious interpretations consistent with the evolution of Church doctrine during the Counter-reformation. Another factor favouring the prevalence of such copies was the presence of two early prototypes (the one today in the Tosio Martinengo Museum in Brescia, cat. no. 20, and that in at the National Gallery in London, cat. no. 13) in prominent collections in Lombardy and in Rome respectively.

The reconstitution of the lost original of the *Madonna of the Pinks* based on the Parisian picture owned by Duflos de Maisongelle, as insofar as it can be discerned based on Ridé's colourised engraving, in combination with the testimony provided by Boulanger's engraving, helps establish a continuum in Raphael's artistic development prior to his relocation to Rome, which concluded with the *Niccolini-Cowper Madonna*, datable to c. 1508. The two compositions are clearly related: in both, the infant Christ sits on a white cushion placed on the Virgin's lap; her blue robe is slung over her right shoulder and the form of her blouse, with its loose sleeve reaching all the way to the elbow, is substantially the same. Its red colour is typical of Raphael's other compositions of this period – such as the *Canigiani Holy Family*, the *Madonna del Granduca* and the *Madonna del Prato* – and can be taken as an indication of the blouse's original colour in the *Madonna of the Pinks* – which apparently faded over time due to the type of pigment used (red lake fades faster with certain admixtures, such as calcium or lead white). In Ridé's engraving, the blouse retains a pinkish tinge, while in



The Niccolini-Cowper Madonna,
Oil on panel, 807 x 575 mm
National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

most other versions, including the one in London, it is a steely grey, a colour poorly represented in Raphael's typical palette. The angle at which the Virgin is sitting in relation to the viewer and the pose of the infant Christ are similar in both compositions. Instead of gazing at flowers as in the earlier picture, the Child now turns his head to look directly at whoever is present to witness the scene – presumably Saint Joseph within the conceptual framework of the composition, but in reality ourselves

– with a charming, somewhat mischievous smile. With his left hand, he has grabbed the edge of his mother's blouse in order to help maintain his balance, and she reacts distractedly by raising her left hand to hold it in place, while looking at her son with a bemused, slightly melancholy gaze. Despite the two figures being tightly fitted into the pictorial space, the anatomical problems inherent in the earlier picture have been resolved – or rather forestalled – with remarkable ease and aplomb. The Virgin's visible leg is foreshortened in a decisive way that does not rely on complex drapery folds and highlights, susceptible to misinterpretation by later copyists. The line that defines the knee also hides the Child's big toe in a perfectly



Leonardo da Vinci, *Madonna Benois*, c. 1478-1480
Oil on canvas, 49.5 × 33 cm
State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg



Mariotto Albertinelli, *Madonna and Child Beside a Window*, c. 1505
Tempera on panel, 59.5 x 47 cm
Formerly at Althorp House

natural way. The remarkable spontaneity of the scene and the confidence of its execution marks the culmination of Raphael's achievement during his pre-Roman period. Only about two years separate the *Madonna of the Pinks* from the *Niccolini-Cowper Madonna*, yet in this relatively brief interval he achieved an astounding mastery of form and creative freedom.

The immediate antecedent to Raphael's lost original may have been a pleasing reinterpretation of Leonardo da Vinci's *Madonna Benois* by Raphael's older contemporary, Mariotto Albertinelli. Executed in the artistic vernacular of early sixteenth century Florence, the picture is unencumbered by the iconographic anomalies we have identified in the London version and its cognates. A competent art critic will surely baulk at the notion that Raphael, with his unrivalled skill at representing the human form, would have introduced such anomalies into his own presentation of the scene.

CHAPTER II: CATALOGUED

THE present catalogue includes seventy-two representations of a scene that in the author's opinion contain discernible traces of and allusions to a lost painting by Raphael. Taken as a whole, they allow us to gain a fleeting glimpse of its probable appearance. Besides verbal descriptions that cannot be associated with a particular image, presented below in Chapter IV, there is also a considerable number of copies and derivations that contribute little to our understanding. These are presented separately in Chapter III as "uncatalogued." The present catalogue is thus restricted to those representations that have some bearing on the main purpose of this study – a tentative reconstruction of what we have termed the Urbild, that is, Raphael's composition as it emerged out of his studio, whatever the extent of his own contribution to the actual painted surface might have been. There is no attempt to apply a strict system of classification, except for the main division into the Boulanger type and the Couvay type, as well as the branch of the latter originated by Sassoferrato in the middle of the seventeenth century (cat. nos. 60–66). No original painting of the Boulanger type has survived, although one is documented in private Parisian collection shortly before the Revolution, having been reproduced in the form of a spectacular colour engraving by Ridé (cat. no. 6). The leading exemplars of the Couvay-type include the Blatchford Madonna (cat. no. 10), the ex-Luglien-Leroy version (cat. no. 12), as well as versions at the National Gallery in London (cat. no. 13), at Lulworth Castle (cat. no. 19) and in Brescia (cat. no. 20).

1a



An engraving by François de Poilly of a painting by Raphael, portrayed within its contemporary decorative frame. Collector's number on the back: 1242.
Dimensions (excl. lower margin): 11.5 x 15 mm. From the author's private collection.

AN ENGRAVING BY FRANÇOIS DE POILLY

The first visual record of Raphael's composition that can be dated at least with approximation is represented by a series of engravings originating in Paris in the seventeenth century, all of them apparently derived from the same painting. In this series a large portion the arch of the window bay is visible, offering a view of orderly masonry structures: a wall that recedes into the distance from a crenelated tower, flanked by a roofed patio supported by columns. The Virgin has a serene expression as she contemplates her son's fascination with two carnations that he is holding in his right hand. He sits on a cushion placed over the Virgin's lap, his lower body leaning forward due to her hidden left thigh being somewhat higher than the right; his head tilts backward slightly, his torso being held in place by the Virgin's extended left arm. She holds a bunch of seven carnations in her left hand—a symbolic number, an apparent allusion to her seven joys and seven sorrows. Her lips are closed and there is only a hint of a smile. Her eyes are barely visible between her nearly-closed eyelids. The infant Christ's large head is attached to his body by a rather short neck. All five toes of his foot, just below the Virgin's knee, are visible. The rich drapery flowing over the Virgin's lap serves to define the position of her legs and thighs and flows over the edge of the bench on which she sits.

In the earliest engraving of this series, produced by François de Poilly (1623-1693) and published here for the first time, the painting is shown inside its contemporary decorative frame, with the Virgin facing left. The inscription on the lower left states "*F. De Poilly ex. C.P.R.*" i.e., "François de Poilly excudit cum privilegio Regis" and on the bottom right "*à l'Image S.^t Benoît*". This indicates a date after 25 November 1658, when François de Poilly moved into the boutique *à l'Enseigne Saint Benoît* in rue Saint-Jacques upon marrying the daughter of the engraver Herman Weyen.¹ Stylistically, it appears to be slightly earlier than a similar engraving by the same author in reverse.

¹ José Lothe, *L'Oeuvre gravé de François et Nicolas de Poilly d'Abbeville, graveurs parisiens du XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1994), p. 22.

1b



A second engraving by François de Poilly of the same painting, in reverse.
Inscription on top of the bench: "F. Poilly Sp C P Regis." Below the frame: "Raphel pinx."
Photograph formerly in the collection of Jacques de Vismes. Courtesy of José Lothe.

This second version of François de Poilly's engraving includes the same decorative frame, but is in reverse to the first. Below the frame in the left bottom margin is the inscription "*Raphael pinx.*" and further down, in large letters, the inscription "*Flores mei fructus. Eccl. 24.*" Inside the engraved image, on top of the bench on which the Virgin is sitting, is the inscription "*F. Poilly Sp C P Regis*".

The existence of two versions of the engraving that are mirror images of each other raises the question as to which one of them correctly reproduces the painting it is intended to portray. In most of the painted versions the Virgin faces right, but in a distinctive series, characterised by seven flowers held in the Virgin's proper right hand, she faces left. The colour engraving by Ridé (cat. no. 6), produced more than a century later on the basis of the same painting, suggests that the correct orientation is depicted in cat no. 1a.

José Lothe, the author of an authoritative catalogue of the engravings of François and Nicolas de Poilly, points out that the engraving shows the influence of Pierre Daret, under whom François studied for three years after his arrival in Paris in November 1638. He therefore assigned this version to the period before 1648, the year of François' departure for his seven-year sojourn in Rome.²

A somewhat later date is nevertheless indicated by the reference in both engravings to a royal privilege, that is, the permission granted to François de Poilly by King Louis XIV on 20 August 1657 "to engrave numerous drawings and paintings concerning religion, history and fable."³ Lothé's estimate of a pre-1648 date for version 1b could only be sustained if the words "*F. Poilly Sp C P Regis*" were a later addition to the plate. Likewise, in version 1a the inscriptions below the margin could have been added at a later stage. Since only one exemplar of each of the framed versions is known (the second the only indirectly, on the basis of a photograph), this hypothesis cannot be confirmed; however Lothé's unmatched expertise in the stylistic development of François de Poilly's work should receive due consideration.

² José Lothe, *op. cit.*, pp. 33, 176 and plate 307, from the collection of Jacques de Vismes. I am grateful to the author for sending me an image of the photograph with a somewhat higher resolution than the illustration that appears in his catalogue.

³ "*Permission de graver beaucoup de desseins et tableaux de piété, d'histoire et de fable pour François de Poilly, par lettres du 20 août 1657 signées.*" Bibliothèque nationale, Manuscrits français 16754, fol. 46r.

1c



A third engraving by François de Poilly of the same painting. Kupferstich-Kabinet, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden, inv. A 90034, 68.5 x 47.9 cm.
The inscription in the bottom margin, on the left reads: "*Raphael d'urbain pinx. A Paris rue S. Jacques à l'Image S^r benoist*"; on the right: "*de Poilly exc. cum pri. Regis.*"

A third version of François de Poilly's engraving with the inscription "*Flores mei fructus, etc.*" was known to Wilhelm von Lepel⁴ and is probably the same engraving as the one referred to by Johann D. Passavant, in which the Virgin is facing right.⁵ Both experts describe the engraving as being the size of a folio. Their description corresponds to an engraving preserved at the Kupferstich-Kabinet of the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen in Dresden, which has the dimensions of 685 x 479 mm. The inscription in the bottom margin reads:

"Raphael durbein pinx. A Paris rue S. Jacques à l'image St. benoist". "De Poilly exc. cum pri. Regis"; further down, in large letters, are the words: "*Flores mei fructus. Eccl. 24.*"

Stylistically, this version is later than the other two, being characteristic of François de Poilly's mature manner following his return from Rome in 1655.

This third version of François de Poilly's engraving was imitated by two German engravers based on Augsburg, namely Jeremias Wolff and Elias Heinzelmann. In the case of the latter the influence was direct, as Heinzelmann, the elder of the two, spent a number of years in Paris as an apprentice to François de Poilly.

⁴ Wilhelm von Lepel (writing under the pseudonym Tauriscus Euboeus), *Catalogue des Estampes gravées d'après Rafael* (Francfort sur le Main, 1819), p. 184, no. 67 c).

⁵ Johann David Passavant, *Rafael von Urbino und sein Vater Giovanni Santi* (Leipzig, 1839), vol. I, no. 55; idem, *Raphaël d'Urbino et son père Giovanni Santi* (Paris, 1860), vol. II, p. 62, n. 49.



An engraving by Jeremias Wolff, 39.7 x 32.9 cm. (engraved image)
Inscription on top of the bench: "Raphael Urbinas pinxit, Jerem. Wolff exc. Aug. Vind"
Below the engraving: Flores mei fructus. Eccl. 24
Royal Library at Winsor Castle, Ruland Collection, RCIN 850743

AN ENGRAVING BY JEREMIAS WOLFF

Jeremias Wolff (1663-1724) was an engraver and print publisher active in Augsburg; Wilhelm von Lepel described his engraving of the *Madonna of the Pinks* as “large”¹ and Passavant considered it a copy of the engraving by Jean Boulanger (cat. no. 4). However it is almost certainly directly dependent on a print by his predecessor Elias Hainzelmann (cat. no. 3), also a native of Augsburg, who had studied under François de Poilly in Paris. While meticulously copying de Poilly’s engraving, both Augsburg engravers invented their own versions of the landscape visible through the window. In both engravings, there is ample room to the right of the bunch of flowers held by the Virgin and the arch is noticeably wider than in de Poilly’s engraving. The eyes of the Virgin and of the Child are depicted with a distinct iris and pupil, allowing the viewer to determine the direction of their gaze without ambiguity.

¹ Wilhelm von Lepel (writing under the pseudonym Tauriscus Euboeus), *Catalogue des Estampes gravées d’après Rafael* (Francfort sur le Main, 1819), p. 184, no. 67 d).



An engraving by Elias Heinzelmänn at Windsor Castle, RCIN 850744.
Legend (bottom left): E. Hainzelmann exc. Aug. Vind.
Dimensions: 39.8 x 32.7 cm.

AN ENGRAVING BY ELIAS HAINZELMANN

Elias Hainzelmann (1640-1693) studied under François de Poilly in Paris before returning to his native Augsburg. His engraving of the *Madonna of the Pinks* was known to Wilhelm von Lepel as well as to Passavant. In a radical departure from his model, Hainzelmann localised the view through the window to show the church and cloister of St. Georg at Augsburg. The infant Christ's outsize head and its slight backward tilt, as well as the short neck awkwardly attaching it to the torso, put it in direct relation to Poilly's engraving. Furthermore, Hainzelmann only claims to have engraved (*excudit*) the work, making no mention of any drawing. It is therefore a safe assumption that he used Poilly's engraving as his model, improvising only in the case of the view through the window. The print here reproduced is conserved in the Ruland Collection at Windsor Castle; another is at the Akademie der bildenden Künste in Vienna. In depicting the infant Christ's eyes, the artist has made a distinction between the iris and the pupil, and included a highlight in each eye, thus enabling the viewer to determine the direction of his gaze. In the London picture (cat. no. 13), the iris and the pupil are merged into a dark dot turned away from the viewer, making it impossible for the viewer to follow his gaze, while the sharply outlined lower eyelids give the eyes a puffy appearance. Hainzelmann's treatment of the hair in both figures appears natural. There are no secondary, idiosyncratic brush strokes as in the London picture.





An engraving by Jean Boulanger, Ruland Collection at Windsor Castle 391 x 298 mm.

Inscription on the bench: "Raphael d'urbein pinx. - Jboulanger sculp.

F. Poilly ex. C.P.R. à Paris - rue S. Jacques à l'Image - S' benoist"

AN ENGRAVING BY JEAN BOULANGER

Besides his own engraving of Raphael's picture, François de Poilly also published a more detailed one by his contemporary Jean Boulanger (Troyes 1608 - Paris 1680). Boulanger's engraving can be dated after 1667, when François de Poilly acquired the boutique à l'Enseigne Saint Benoît in rue Saint-Jacques. It, too, was known to Wilhelm von Lepel¹ and Johann D. Passavant.² Exemplars are in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle,³ at the Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica in Rome⁴ and at the Cabinet d'Estampes in Paris.⁵

The orientation of Boulanger's engraving, in reverse to that of Poilly, is presumably that of the painting it records. This is also the orientation of the somewhat later Niccolini-Cowper Madonna, the conception of which is closely related to the present composition.

In contrast to de Poilly's engraving (cat. no. 1a-1c), the Virgin's lips are slightly parted. Both de Poilly and Boulanger depict her knees as being just sufficiently apart to support the two ends of the cushion. The convergence of her thighs toward the hips is easily discernible thanks to the sophisticated highlighting, the series of concentric drapery folds and the foreshortening of the leg that is closer to the viewer. Thus there is no ambiguity as to how the Virgin's upper thighs are joined to her hips, a problem that affects most other versions of this composition, notably the one in London.

Boulanger's ambiguous portrayal of the Child's gaze as directed above the flowers, but not high enough to meet that of the Virgin, appears to correspond to an ambiguity present in the painting he has chosen to portray.

¹ Wilhelm von Lepel (writing under the pseudonym Tauriscus Euboeus), *Catalogue des Estampes gravées d'après Rafael* (Francfort sur le Main, 1819), p. 184, no. 67 b).

² Johann David Passavant, *Rafael von Urbino und sein Vater Giovanni Santi* (Leipzig, 1839), vol. I, no. 55; idem, *Raphaël d'Urbino et son père Giovanni Santi* (Paris, 1860), vol. II, p. 62, n. 49.

³ Karl Ruland, *The Works of Raphael Santi da Urbino* (Weimar, 1876), p. 61, XV, no. 5.

⁴ Fondo Nazionale 742, F. Pio vol. VII and Fondo Corsini 44002, vol. 37 H5. See Grazia Bernini Pezzini, Stefania Massari and Simonetta Prosperi Valenti Rodinò, *Raphael Invenit, Stampe da Raffaello nelle Collezioni dell'Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica* (Rome, 1985), p. 185.

⁵ Charles Le Blanc, *Manuel de l'amateur d'estampes*, vol. I (1854), p. 489, n. 15 (who gives the dimensions of the sheet as 432 x 305 mm.)



Raffael d'Urbino pinx.

Alvise Povelato deli. ē sculp. Veñs. 1780
Dilectus meus mihi, et ego illi Ap. T. Viero Venet:

AN ENGRAVING BY LUIGI POVELATO

A copper engraving by Luigi Povelato, produced in Venice in 1780, is reminiscent of the first of François de Poilly's three engravings of the subject (cat. no. 1a). Little is known about the author, and only about half dozen other engravings by his hand have been recorded.¹ Besides the numerous similarities, such as the Virgin's roundish face and tightly-sealed lips, there are some notable differences, such as the angle of the partly-drawn curtain in the background, the shape of the knot and details of the drapery. It thus appears that Povelato independently recorded a copy of Raphael's lost original, consistent with his claim to have both drawn and engraved it. The treatment of the Child's hair, with loose strands brushed back on the side of the head and falling over the forehead, is similar to that



in the version at the National Gallery in London (cat. no. 13). This implies that another version of the picture, somewhat different from that recorded a century previously in Paris by François de Poilly and Jean Boulanger, existed in Venice in 1780.

The dimensions of the image are 224 x 177 mm.; the exemplar here illustrated is at the Royal Library of

Windsor Castle, Ruland Collection.

A barely legible inscription on the lower window frame can be provisionally read as "Castello." What is remarkable in Povelato's engraving is the attention to detail, despite its small size. The gate in the wall, next to which the tree is growing, a mere shadow in Boulanger's engraving, is here clearly outlined. The crenelated tower and the roofed terrace behind it assume a more realistic aspect. The upper perimeter of the tower has been widened at the top, with narrow arches supporting the added masonry, while the terrace behind it has received a slanting roof.

¹ Pietro Zani, *Enciclopedia metodica critico-ragionata delle Belle Arti* (Parma, 1823), parte prima, vol. 15, p. 272.



A coloured engraving by Ridé of a painting in the collection of Duflos de Maisoncelle

A COLOURISED ENGRAVING BY RIDÉ

A colourised engraving by Ridé, an engraver active in Paris until the first decade of the nineteenth century. It reproduces a painting in the possession of Louis Etienne Duflos de Maisonnelle. According to Ridé, the painting he was reproducing was of the same size as his engraving (312 x 234 mm).¹ The text in bottom margin reads:

Gravé en couleur par Ridé
d'après le Tableau Orig^{al} de même Grand^r
du Cabinet de M. Duflos de Maisonnelle
Dédié a Monseigneur le Clerc de Juigné, Archevêque de Paris Duc de St. Cloud Pair de France &c.
Par son très Humble et très Obéissant Serviteur Ridé
A Paris chez Ingouf le J^{ne} Graveur²; Rue de la Harpe vis-à-vis celle de la Parcheminerie
Toulouze M^d d'Estampes, rue des Prêtres S^t Germain l'Auxerois

The engraving dates between March 1782, when Antoine Leclerc de Juigné, to whom the work is dedicated, became archbishop of Paris and March 1789, when his title of nobility (Duc de Saint-Cloud Pair de France) was abolished.³ The Virgin's head is well proportioned, her expression serene and full of wonder at the scene she is witnessing. Unlike most other versions, her earlobe is proportionate to the size of her head and well formed, as in Raphael's *Madonna della Sedia*. The Child's serious and concentrated gaze, straightforwardly directed at the flowers that he is grasping by their stem, indicates that he well understands their significance. The painting recorded by Ridé is free of any ambiguity in this respect.

Ridé's engraving is independent of those by Boulanger (cat. no. 4), Duthé (cat. no. 8) and Lepri (cat. no. 7). It documents the existence in late eighteenth-century Paris of a painting that was considerably larger than the one in London and retained important features of Raphael's original composition. The fact that Ridé was primarily a portrait painter may explain his careless treatment of the landscape, but the appearance of these structures in the mentioned composition can be deduced from the Boulanger engraving and its analogues, which provide a consistent model.

¹ The only known exemplar is at the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Richelieu - Estampes et photographie AA-3 (RIDÉ)-FOL. The size of the folio is 365 x 267 mm.

² François Robert Ingouf (1747-1812)

³ Jean Duchene, "Le pontificat parisien de Mgr de Juigné, de mars 1792 à mars 1789" in *Paris et Île-de-France. Mémoires*, vol. 46 (1995).



AN ENGRAVING BY GIOACCHINO LEPRI

Gioacchino Lepri was an engraver active in Rome in the first half of the nineteenth century. On 16 August 1810 he received a prize for his work from the Academy of St. Luke in Rome. His engraving, closely related to that of Boulanger is, however, substantially larger, measuring 474 x 356 mm. Its author claims to have been responsible not just for the engraving, but also for the drawing on which it is based (*delineavit et sculpsit*). There would have been no purpose to such a drawing were he merely copying another engraving. The portrayal of the Virgin's face, with the slightly parted lips, suggests that Lepri recorded the same painting as Boulanger, perhaps during an otherwise undocumented sojourn in Paris, given the fact that the painting was still in Paris in 1822, when engraved by Duthé (cat. no. 8).

The similarity to the Boulanger engraving, made nearly two centuries earlier, is remarkable, although Lepri has simplified some of the intricate drapery folds recorded by his predecessor. He has also resolved the ambiguity inherent in Boulanger's representation of the Child's gaze, by directing it further upwards to meet that of the Virgin, thereby making plausible an interpretation, according to which the infant Christ is offering the flowers to his mother as a token of affection. It is precisely in order to avoid such an interpretation that Sassoferrato (cat. nos. 58-64) places the flowers higher, so that they once more become the sole object of the Child's attention.

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Grazia Bernini Pezzini, Stefania Massari and Simonetta Prosperi Valenti Rodinò, *Raphael Invenit, Stampe da Raffaello nelle Collezioni dell'Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica* (Rome, 1985), pp. 185 and 691 (ill.).



Raphael pinx.

A colourised engraving by J. Duthé, completed in 1822
JÉSUS SUR LES GENOUX DE SA MÈRE
Vierge dite à l'Oeillet d'après Raphaël

Duthé sculp.

A COLOURISED POINTILLIST ENGRAVING BY J. DUTHÉ

The author of this colourised pointillist engraving,¹ J. Duthé, was active in Paris from 1788, the date of his earliest known engraving, until 1841. Much of his work is in the same pointillist style, some of it colourised.

The size of the image is 374 x 304 mm. The inscription underneath the engraving reads:

Raphael pinx.

Duthé sculp.

JÉSUS SUR LES GENOUX DE SA MÈRE

Vierge dite à l'Œillet d'après Raphaël

Paris chez Duthé Graveur, rue des Bernardins N° 17 et chez Tessari et C^{ie}, Rue du Cloître Notre Dame, N° 4 – Déposé

An earlier, uncolourised state of the engraving, bearing the inscription “JÉSUS SUR LES GENOUX DE SA MÈRE, GRAVÉ AU POINTILLÉ, D'APRÈS RAPHAËL” was deposited at the Cabinet d'Estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale on 11 May 1822 (presently bound in vol. Ef.170, p. 18).

Subtle differences in the Virgin's drapery and veil, her more angular facial features and the addition of a second loincloth around the Child's waist indicate that Duthé engraved a painting that was still in Paris in 1822. However, the colourist was unfamiliar the picture, as he chose blue for the carnations and failed to differentiate the Virgin's tunic from her skirt.



¹ Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig, from the collection of August Vasel



Jean Couvay's engraving in the Ruland Collection, Windsor Castle, 34 x 25.9 mm; an exemplar at the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris is described in Roger-Armand Weigert, *Inventaire du Fonds français, Graveurs du XVIIe siècle*, vol. III (1954), p. 201

AN ENGRAVING BY JEAN COUVAY

A somewhat different version of Raphael's composition is recorded in an engraving by Jean Couvay, a native of Arles, active in Paris from the early 1630s until his death in 1663. The engraving can be dated between 1632, the year in which its publisher, Pierre Mariette, established his operation at Rue St. Jacques au Signe d'Espérance, and 1657, the year of Mariette's death. Couvay's engraving diverges in so many details from those of François de Poilly and Jean Boulanger that it is evidently based on a different painting. The Virgin holds only three flowers in her left hand, in addition to the two held by the Child, indicating a change in religious interpretation – instead of the Virgin's seven sorrows, the flowers have come to represent the five wounds of Christ. The top of the arch has been cut off, the edge of the window sill is marked by a chink, and the scenery visible through the window has been simplified. The two crenelated towers of differing heights are still standing, but the other structures are in ruins. The inscriptions on the bottom read:

DILECTUS MEUS MIHI ET EGO ILLI		Cant. 2.
Raphael Urbinas pinxit	J. Couvay sculp.	Cum privilegio Regis
Typis Petris Mariette via Jacobaea ad insigne Spei		

On the bottom, the view extends a certain distance below the edge of the bench on which the Virgin is sitting, and the drapery flowing over the edge retains a sense of verticality, reinforced by the fabric descending from the Virgin's knees, that is absent from most subsequent versions. Her lower right thigh, discernible under the drapery, is no longer effectively foreshortened, and appears to miss the hip by a wide margin, an anomaly that becomes even more acute in later versions. The Child's unnaturally high forehead is also retained in many subsequent iterations. The Child's left foot is surrounded by a faintly-depicted fold of drapery between the Virgin's knees, which is also present in Semmler's engraving (cat. no. 26), but absent in nearly all painted versions, except for the one in Brescia (cat. no. 20). The big toe of the right foot is not shown, being hidden within the mentioned the drapery fold. The Virgin's facial features and expression are typical of Raphael's oeuvre: she looks at her Child with tenderness, but appears lost in thought, knowing what she knows about his terrible destiny. She does not smile and her lips are tightly closed.



The Blatchford Madonna
Oil on panel, 33.5 x 25.5 cm.

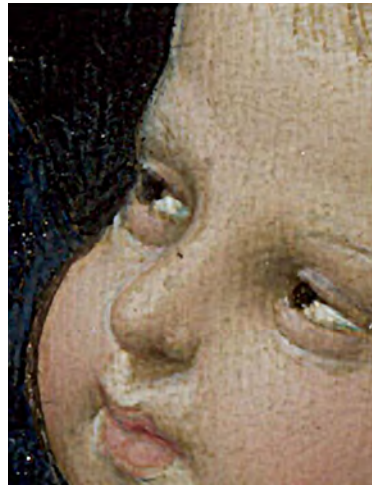
Private collection, Vermont. Reproduced with the permission of the owner

A VERSION ON PANEL IN A PRIVATE COLLECTION IN VERMONT

This remarkable version in a private collection in Vermont, dubbed “The Blatchford Madonna” in honour of its first documented owner, was imported from Germany before 1929. The support has been tentatively identified as oak, which may indicate a northern origin, either French or Flemish. The visual field is considerably wider than in the London picture, both vertically and horizontally. The infant Christ’s expression as he contemplates the flowers that symbolise his future suffering attests to a full understanding by the artist of the purport of Raphael’s composition – the acceptance by the infant Christ of his destiny as the Saviour of mankind. The picture is closer than any known painted version to the one engraved by Jean Couvay (cat. no. 9), sharing with it features such as the two braids in the Virgin’s hair and the cloth flowing over the edge of the bench, with its distinctive fold. As in the Couvay engraving, the Virgin’s visible thigh is foreshortened, although less convincingly so than in version engraved by Ridé (cat. no. 6). The artist has thus succeeded in avoiding an anatomical anomaly that affects the majority of subsequent copies. As in both mentioned engravings, the pupil and the iris of the infant Christ’s eyes are distinctly represented, allowing the viewer follow the direction of his gaze. In the London version, the merging of the iris and pupil results in a disconcerting lack of focus.



Detail showing eyes of the Infant Christ
in the Blatchford version



Detail showing the eyes of the Infant Christ
in the London version



An anonymous engraving of the French school, measuring 20 x 13.2 cm.

AN ANONYMOUS ENGRAVING OF THE FRENCH SCHOOL

Inscription on the bottom right:

R.VI. (i.e., RAPHAEL VRBINAS INVENTIT)

in the centre: A ME.SOLA

CANDIDVM

There a single known exemplar of this highly stylised engraving.¹ It has been assigned to the second half of the sixteenth century – the year 1648, inscribed on the bottom of the window frame, appears to be a later addition. Its sparse graphical ductus, was identified by Stefania Massari as belonging to the French school.”² The visual field is severely constrained – only a small part of the upper arch is shown above the column capital and the bench on which the Virgin sits is cut off just below the top edge. The Virgin’s lips are slightly parted. The landscape visible through the window bay shows a tree growing in front of two crenelated towers of different sizes and remnants of fortifications. The flowers are lilies, rather than pinks and the Child appears to be offering them to his mother, as also indicated by the text at the bottom. “*A me sola candidum*” is not a biblical quotation, but refers to the plant known as *lilium candidum*, or the Madonna Lilly, a symbol of purity. The Child’s head is inclined further back than in most painted versions, his gaze directed upwards to meet hers. The engraver has reinterpreted the meaning of Raphael’s composition in conformity with Catholic doctrine propagated in seventeenth-century France, in which Mary was portrayed as the bride of Christ.³

The drapery fold between the Virgin’s knees, which provides support for the Child’s foot, is clearly delineated. The present engraving well illustrates the composition’s principal anatomical problem: the viewer struggles to imagine how the Virgin’s left leg might be attached to her hip, given the direction taken by its lower part, visible under the drapery.

The engraving prefigures of Luglien-Leroy type (cat. no. 12), which is the most widespread and includes the exemplar at the National Gallery in London (cat. no. 13).

1 Fondo Nazionale 485 (34201), Fondo Pio vol. V. Fondo Pio vol. V. Fondo Pio comprises thirty-three volumes of engravings and one of drawings, collected and collated by Nicola Pio. It is part of the collections of the Gabinette Disegni e Stampe, Istituto Nazionale della Grafica housed in Villa Farnesina in Rome.

2 *Raphael Invenit, Stampe da Raffaello nelle Collezioni dell’Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica* (Rome, 1985), pp. 184, 691.

3 See J.H. Crehan, “Maria Paredros” in *Theological Journal*, vol. 16. no. 3, p. 422.



A version from the collection of the industrialist Louis François Luglien-Leroy,
presently in the collection of Étienne Orsini
Oil on canvas, 2.91 x 23.7cm.

EX-COLLECTION OF LOUIS FRANÇOIS LUGLIEN-LEROY

In December 1908, the art critic Lucien Klotz published in the Parisian newspaper *L'Éclair* a four-part series on a version of the *Madonna of the Pinks* in the collection of the industrialist Louis François Luglien-Leroy (1834-1916). Having been invited to visit the Château de Cercamp in Frévent for a private viewing, Klotz came away convinced that he had seen an authentic work of Raphael. His report, later compiled into a brochure,¹ was made available to potential buyers when the painting was presented at a public auction at Hôtel Drouot on 25 March 1909, where it fetched the astounding price of 19,000 francs. It is currently in the collection of Étienne Orsini.

According to documentation provided to Klotz by Luglien-Leroy, the picture had been bought by Monsieur de Rosainville in 1686 and was listed in the catalogue of his collection. Its authenticity was certified by



Detail of the Child's head

the Parisian painter Nicolas Largillière (1656-1746), whose name appears on the back of the canvas. The painting had passed into the possession of Luglien-Leroy's grandfather, Jacques Luglien Fourment in 1745, upon the latter's marriage to Monsieur de Rosainville's granddaughter, Marie Anne Aubert de Rosainville (1715-1769). It was loaned for an exhibition held at the Louvre in 1885.²

¹ Lucien Klotz, *Tableau La Vierge à l'œillet ayant figuré à l'exposition des Alsaciens-Lorrains au Palais du Louvre, en 1885 appartenant à la collection Luglien-Leroy* (Paris, 1909).

² *Catalogue d'une exposition de tableaux, statues et objets d'art au profit de l'œuvre des orphelins d'Alsace-Lorraine* (Paris, 1885).



Detail of the Virgin's head

The accompanying images, provided by the picture's current owner, attest to the painting's remarkable similarity to the version at the National Gallery in London, noticeable particularly in the sharp delineation of the Child's lower eyelids, the depiction of his hair, as well as in the face of the Virgin, featuring the same toothy smile and swollen upper left eyelid. The wider field of vision



The painting in its original frame

is, however reminiscent of Electrine von Freyberg's ink-brush sketch (cat. no. 14). In several aspects the Orsini picture shows more detail than the one in London, including the intricate folds of the Virgin's blue mantle, which are rendered with greater realism, emphasizing the distinction between the part tightly wrapped around her knees from the more ample folds flowing over her upper thighs. The rendering of the landscape is more meticulous, especially with regard to the rock formations and their illumination. A much-needed cleaning might reveal further interesting details.



The National Gallery, London, inv. NG 6596
The Northumberland with its frame removed, showing the limits of the painted surface
Dimensions of the panel: 29.0 x 23.0 cm.
Dimensions of the painted surface: 27.9 x 22.4 cm.

THE NORTHUMBERLAND-CAMUCCINI VERSION – NG LONDON

In 1991 Nicholas Penny, curator of paintings for the National Gallery in London, paid a visit to Alnwick Castle to view the Duke of Northumberland's art collection. His attention was drawn to a small panel in an elaborately carved wooden frame, portraying the Madonna with the Christ Child on her lap. The Child's attention is fixed on a pink flower he is holding with his tiny fingers, presumably taken from a bunch held by the Madonna in her left hand. On the elaborately carved frame was the name of the painter: RAPHAEL. Penny was intrigued by the fineness of the execution and suggested to the Duke to allow the painting to be tested at the National Gallery. The Duke consented and the ensuing examination using X-rays and infrared spectrography revealed a detailed underdrawing underneath the painted surface. Following additional art-historical research Penny became convinced that he had found the original of a work of Raphael long considered to have been lost and known only through numerous copies and engravings. His findings were published in the February 1992 issue of *The Burlington Magazine*.¹ Subsequently the Duke of Northumberland consented to loan the painting to the National Gallery, where it has since been displayed as an original work of Raphael. In 2003 the gallery was faced with the decision of whether to acquire the painting outright to prevent its sale to the Getty Museum in California. In order to do so, it had to match the Getty's high financial offer, following a moratorium on the export of the work imposed by the Department of Culture. After a lengthy public campaign the gallery at last succeeded in completing the purchase through a combination of public funds and private donations.

The acquisition of the painting by the National Gallery was preceded by a thorough canvassing of expert opinion, which was found to be largely favourable, despite some dissident voices. At the time of purchase no physical tests of the wood panel had been performed, but visual inspection indicated that it was not poplar, the most commonly used support for panel paintings in early sixteenth century Tuscany. It was conjectured that the support might be cherry or other fruitwood. Though less commonly encountered as support for panel paintings, cherry wood was used for Raphael's last major endeavour the *Transfiguration*. Eventually tests of the panel performed by Prof. Peter Klein of

¹ Nicholas Penny, "Raphael's 'Madonna dei garofani' Rediscovered," *The Burlington Magazine* 134, no. 1067, Feb. 1992, pp. 67–81.

72 VIRGINS: *Unveiling Raphael's "Madonna of the Pinks"*

NG 6596



Universität Hamburg

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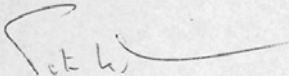


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Unser Zeichen: K/mai

Report on the wood identification of the panel „Madonna of pinks“ (Raffael)

The analysed panel is made by common yew (*Taxus baccata*). In the radial section the spiral thickenings are conspicuous in longitudinal tracheids. (comp. Fig).



Prof. Dr. Peter Klein

Universität Hamburg • Tor zur Welt der Wissenschaft

Report by Dr. Peter Klein of Hamburg University
showing that the wood support is common yew (*Taxus baccata*)



Three wax seals on the back of the panel.

Hamburg University revealed the support to be yew (report dated 2 February 2006). One would be hard pressed to find another Renaissance painting for which yew was used as the support.

Another peculiarity of the panel is the lack of any markings on the back that would help establish its provenance. The

back of the Northumberland has been polished, removing any marks by previous owners. Of the three seals on the back, one belongs to Vincenzo Camuccini, one perhaps to Pietro and one to the Roman agency “*della antichità e delle pitture.*”

In his 1992 publication, Nicholas Penny cited as the earliest certain reference to the painting a passage to be found in Francesco Longhena’s annotated Italian edition of Quatremère de Quincy’s monograph on Raphael, published in Milan in 1829, in which a painting by Raphael in the collection of Vincenzo Camuccini is highly praised:

Lo stesso [sig. Vincenzo cavaliere Camuccini] possiede altro cimelio del divino Sanzio, cioè una piccola tavola rappresentante la B. Vergine col Bambino in grembo che prende un fiore dalla Madre: opera similmente de’ primi anni di Raffaello, sparsa di infinita soavità. Questo quadretto bisogna che fosse tanto nell’amore delle persone dell’arte che fu più volte da Benvenuto Garofalo, dal Sassoferrato e da altri antichi maestri ricopiato.²

The same [Vincenzo Camuccini] possesses another precious object by the divine Raphael Santi, a small panel representing the Blessed Virgin with the Child on her lap, who takes a flower from his Mother: a work similarly from Raphael’s first years, suffused with an infinite gentleness. This little painting must have been so greatly admired by art lovers that it was many times copied by Benvenuto Garofalo, Sassoferrato and other ancient masters..

According to Longhena, Camuccini also owned a diptych consisting of two small panel paintings from Raphael’s early years in Perugia, one representing Mary Magdalen and the other St. Catherine of Alexandria, painted

² *Istoria della Vita e delle Opere di Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino del signor Quatremere de Quincy voltata in Italiano, corretta, illustrata ed ampliata per cura di Francesco Longhena* (Milan, 1929), annotation on p. 7.

“with that supreme love, with which he was at that time wont to paint.” Longhena’s glowing description of the Raphael paintings in Camuccini’s collection was not based on a personal viewing, but rather on a report he had received from Rome from the poet Melchior Missirini. Longhena’s informant had come to Rome in 1816 at the invitation of Antonio Canova and served as the Pro-Secretary of the Academy of St. Luke until 1827, when he was placed under censure by pope Leo XII and confined to a Roman monastery. He left the city for Florence the following year. Soon after his arrival in Rome, Missirini became a close friend of Vincenzo Camuccini, a leading member of the academy. In 1822 Camuccini painted Missirini’s portrait³ and Missirini, in turn, wrote admiringly of Camuccini’s historical paintings, referring to him as “*bella luce dell’italiana pittura*” — a phrase adopted by Longhena in his characterisation of the painter.⁴ It turns out that Longhena’s extravagant praise of the Raphael paintings in Camuccini’s gallery is a mere paraphrase of Missirini’s report, the original wording of which is unknown. It cannot therefore be entirely excluded that the painting described by Missirini was in fact a copy of the *Madonna Aldobrandini*, which a learned observer saw in Vincenzo Camuccini’s collection already in May 1817.⁵

Den Preis gewinnt aber wieder ein Bild von Rafael, ein kleines Blatt, auf welches seine geheiligte Hand eine wunderliebliche Madonna gemalt hat: blond, im veilchenfarbenen Kleide, sitzt sie zwischen zwei offenen Fenstern, und breitet jungfräulich und mutterselig die Arme um das göttliche Kind auf ihrem Schooße, und den kleinen Johannes neben ihr, welcher von ihm eine Nelke (das Vorbild der Kreuzesnägel) empfängt. Dieses Täfelchen ist ein wahres Juwel, als dessen Einfassung nur die übrigen Bilder erscheinen. Es stammt auch aus der Aldobrandinischen Sammlung, im Pallast Borghese.

The prize, however, is again won by a picture by Raphael, a small sheet on which his holy hand has painted a miraculous Madonna: blond, in a violet-coloured dress, she sits between two open windows, and as a virgin mother spreads her arms around the divine child on her lap, and next to her is the little John, who receives from him a carnation (prefiguring the nails of the cross). This little panel is a real jewel, to which the remaining pictures only serve as a background. It, too, comes from the Aldobrandini Collection, in the Pallazzo Borghese.

³ N. d’Apuzzo, “Ritratto dell’ Ab. D. Melchior Missirini dipinto dal cav. Camuccini” in *Effemeridi Letterarie di Roma*, vol. VII (April-June 1822), pp. 345-346.

⁴ Melchior Missirini, *Alcuni fatti della storia Romana dipinti dal barone Vincenzo Camuccini* (Rome, 1835), p. iii; Longhena, *loc. cit.*

⁵ D. Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen, *Briefe in die Heimat aus Deutschland, der Schweiz und Italien* (Breslau, 1819), vol. III, pp. 275-276. The picture owned by Camuccini was not the original *Madonna Aldobrandini*, which had been exported to England by Alexander Day in 1801 and purchased by Lord Garvagh in 1818.

Putting aside the erroneous interpretation of the painting's iconography (it is in fact the Baptist who hands the flower to Jesus), the writer's testimony shows that the *Madonna of the Pinks* was either not yet in the Camuccini collection, or was for some reason concealed from visitors. As first mentioned by James Beck and recently discussed in greater detail by Pier Ludovico Puddu, the *Madonna of the Pinks* was included in a stockbook kept by Vincenzo's elder brother, the art dealer Pietro Camuccini, covering the years 1812-1814, among a list of pictures he had purchased from the Barberini collection. It is listed as no. 241 "*Madonna e Bambino originale di Raffaello d'Urbino*" on panel



Federico Barocci c. 1553
Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e
delle Stampe, inv. 11530 F recto

with dimensions corresponding to those of the *Madonna of the Pinks* at the National Gallery in London.⁶ In order to explain the absence of a receipt, such as exist for most of the other paintings purchased by Pietro Camuccini from this collection, as well as the absence of the painting from an exhaustive list of the Barberini Collection, drawn up by Vincenzo Camuccini and Gaspare Landi in 1812,⁷ Puddu suggests that the sale took place surreptitiously, to enable Prince Francesco Barberini to avoid having to share the proceeds with the Colonna Sciarra family, as he was legally required to do. Pietro Camuccini's willing participation in such a scheme would not be out of character. The picture appears to have been in Rome as early as the middle of the sixteenth century, as attested by a red-chalk drawing of a part of the Christ child's

⁶ Pier Ludovico Puddu, "The Provenance of Raphael's 'Madonna of the Pinks'" in *The Burlington Magazine*, no. 160 (October 2018), p. 839; for the Barberini provenance, see Patrizia Cavazzini in *ibid.*, pp. 833-835. The stockbook entry was cited by James Beck in *From Duccio to Raphael: Connoisseurship in Crisis* (2006), p. 73 based on information provided to him by Prof. Paolo Puddu.

⁷ Puddu refers to an exemplar of this inventory at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio Barberini, Indice II, vol. 2727. Another autograph exemplar, signed by Camuccini and Landi, is at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II, section Autografi, A.47.7. For the circumstances of the legal dispute that led to the division, see Lorenza Mochi Onori, "Le vendite di Cornelia Costanza e le copie dei dipinti" in *I Barberini e la cultura europea del Seicento*, (Rome, 2007), pp. 629-636.

trunk made by Federico Barocci during the artist's first study visit to the Eternal City in 1553.⁸

For many years after its acquisition by Pietro Camuccini the picture was not shown to visitors; the first to note its presence in Camuccini's studio was Louise Seidler, who was introduced to the painter in 1820 and paid him a visit shortly thereafter. In her memoirs she refers to it as an "unsurpassed" (*unübertroffene*) work of Raphael.⁹

As pointed out by Puddu, it was customary for the Camuccini brothers to make copies of paintings that came into their possession in order to make an extra profit from their sale.¹⁰ This raises the question as to whether painting today at London's National Gallery is the same as the one listed in the mentioned stockbook. An ink brush copy of Camuccini's *Madonna of the Pinks*, produced by the German artist Electrine von Freyberg, née Stuntz in 1821 during her Roman sojourn, portrays a painting that differs from the one in London in important details (see below, cat. no. 14), while being closer stylistically to Raphael's artistic idiom. The first visual evidence that matches the London picture with relative accuracy is an engraving completed by Giovanni Farrugia by 28 August 1828, when it was put on display at the Brera Palace in Milan (cat. no. 18). The accompanying legend, which appears to be a later addition, reads:

*L'originale della stessa grandezza esiste
in Roma nella galleria del celeberrimo
pittore Sig. Cav.re Camuccini.*

*The original of the same size is in
Rome at the gallery of the most cele-
brated painter Cavaliere Camuccini.*

The dimensions of the Farrugia engraving are indeed very nearly the same as those of the picture in London. The main difference, a loincloth covering the infant's genitals, is likely to be a consequence of the strictures imposed on artistic expression by Pope Leo XII. A careful pencil drawing by Victor Vibert (cat. no. 15), produced in Camuccini's studio in 1833 shortly before the artist's return to his native Lyon following a three-year sojourn in Rome renders the London picture with even greater accuracy. A comparison between Vibert's drawing and that of Electrine von Freyberg leads to the inexorable conclusion that they were done after two different

⁸ Luca Baroni, "Il giovane Barocci e Raffaello. Raffaello nella Urbino: dei Della Rovere - 2 in *Studi Raffaelleschi* 2/2025, p. 136 and fig. 18."

⁹ Sylke Kaufmann, *Goethes Mallerin: Die Erinnerungen der Louise Seidler* (2003), p. 227.

¹⁰ Puddu, *Pietro Camuccini e Alexander Day, artisti e mercanti di quadri nella roma di fine Settecento* (Rome, 2020), pp. 51-52.

paintings. The *Madonna of the Pinks* that was in the Camuccini collection after 1833 was not the one acquired by Pietro Camuccini in 1812 from the Barberini collection, but rather a copy, most likely produced by his brother Vincenzo. The Barberini picture must have been sold between 1821, when it was recorded by Electrine, and 1833, when Camuccini's copy was reproduced by Victor Vibert.

Camuccini's copy of the *Madonna of the Pinks* was of sufficient quality to impress casual observers – as it does certain art critics to this day. Count Prokesch of Osten, who visited the Camuccini gallery on 25 March 1832, remarked that the few paintings it contained, among them a small Madonna by Raphael, were of excellent quality.¹¹ A more sober assessment is contained in an inventory of the Camuccini collection, drawn up by the Roman painter Giovanni Antonio Pasinati on 16 November 1833, a few months after the death of Vincenzo's elder brother Pietro:

Madonna e Bambino con garofoli in mano alto pal. 1½

Maniera di Raffaello *s[cudi] 100*

The Madonna and Child with pinks in her hand 1½ palmi in height

Manner of Raphael 100 scudi¹²

The designation leaves no doubt that the expert who drew up the inventory did not consider the work to be autograph, or even from Raphael's close circle. However, given the purpose of the inventory, it is reasonable to assume that the values were deliberately understated.

In another inventory drawn up by Vincenzo Camuccini later in the 1830s, the picture is attributed to Raphael without equivocation, and its condition described as excellent (*conservatissimo*)¹³ – an assessment that is in marked contrast to the observation of John D. Passavant, who visited the Camuccini collection in Rome in 1835, as can be established based on Passavant's unpublished notebooks kept in the print room of Frankfurt's Städel Institute. The contents of the Camuccini collection are listed on page 196 of the fourth volume. The entry concerning the *Madonna of the Pinks* reads:

¹¹ Anton Prokesch von Osten, *Aus den Tagebüchern des Grafen Prokesch von Osten 1830-1834* (Vienna, 1909), p. 142: "Zu dem Maler Ritter Cammucini, der wenige, aber treffliche Gemälde hat; eine kleine Madonna von Raffael &c."

¹² Lorenzo Finocchi Ghersi, "Il moccolo che va avanti, fa lume per due': Pio IX, il marchese Campana e la vendita della collezione Camuccini" in *Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte*, vol. 57, 2002 (2003), pp. 355-379.

¹³ Archivio Eredi Camuccini, Rome, folder 37, Registro di oggetti d'arte e cose preziose di proprietà di Vincenzo Camuccini, no. 11, cited in Puddu, *op. cit.*, p. 837.



A black-and-white photograph of the painting during its restoration in the early 1990s, showing areas of paint loss (in white)



An x-ray photograph, enhanced by the author to better reveal the distinctive pattern of the yew wood panel and the application of pigments, especially to highlighted areas. The three large white spots on the bottom right are the wax seals on the back of the panel. Areas of paint loss, mostly above the Child's right arm, appear black.

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*Raph. Mad. mit der Nelke, sehr zart
behandelt kalt in Farbe, wird in
Paris gestochen, viel ausgebessert.*

Raphael Madonna with the pinks,
very finely executed cold in colouring,
was engraved in Paris, much restored.

In his comprehensive survey of Raphael's oeuvre, published four years later, Passavant described the picture as follows:

*In der Sammlung des Cavaliere Vinc.
Camuccini in Rom. Sie sitzt links und
ist rechts gewendet. Die Behandlung
hat etwas zartes; die Färbung ist
kalt. Es kommt sicher aus der Schule
Rafael's. Leider hat es durch Retouchen
mit Ölfarben ein etwas fleckiges
Ansehn erhalten. Gest. von Gio.
Farrugia Maltese 1829 fol.*¹⁴

In the collection of the Cavaliere Vinc.
Camuccini in Rome. She sits on the left
and is turned to the right. The handling is
somewhat delicate; the colouring is cold.
It certainly comes from the school of
Raphael. Unfortunately it has a somewhat
spotty appearance due to retouchings
with oil paints. It was engraved in folio by
Giovanni Farrugia of Malta, 1829.

The retouchings could have been an attempt to cover the losses of paint evident in an black-and-white photograph of the painting made in the early 1990s as the picture was undergoing restoration. In reality the losses are relatively minor, but it would not be uncommon for retouchings to go far beyond the need to reintegrate actual damage. Such losses can occur even in relatively recently painted works if the ground is not well prepared.

Ernst Platner, a German painter who spent most of his life in the Eternal City, describes the Camuccini collection as part of a survey of the art treasures of contemporary Rome, written between 1839 and 1841, and devotes the following lines to the *Madonna of the Pinks*:

*Ein kleines Gemälde der h. Jungfrau mit
dem Christuskinde, von einem Schüler oder
Nachahmer Raphaels, dem dieses Bild nach
unserer Meinung sehr mit Unrecht zugeschrie-
ben wird. Die Anordnung und der Faltenwurf
der Bekleidung der Maria ist dem Geschmack
dieses grossen Künstlers ganz unentsprechend.
Uebrigens zeigt das Bild eine klare und
kräftige Farbe, und eine gute Zeichnung in der
nackten Figur des Christuskindes.*¹⁵

A small painting of the Holy Virgin
with the Christ Child by a pupil or
follower of Raphael, to whom this
painting is in our opinion very wrongly
ascribed. The arrangement and folds of
the Madonna's dress do not at all cor-
respond to the style of this great artist.
Nevertheless the painting has clear and
strong colours and a good design of the
naked figure of the Christ Child.

¹⁴ *Rafael von Urbin und sein Vater Giovanni Santi* (Leipzig, 1939), vol. I, no. 55.

¹⁵ Ernst Platner, Carl Bunsen, Eduard Gerhard, Wilhelm Röstell and Ludwig Ulrchs, *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, vol. III pt. III (Stuttgart & Tübingen, 1842), p. 271.

At about the same time, a systematic survey of the Camuccini Gallery was published by Alfred von Reumont, who noted that while the number of paintings it comprised was not large, the visitor would not be disappointed in terms of their quality. Regarding the *Madonna of the Pinks* he stated:

*Das allerliebste Bildchen der Madonna, welche ihr Kind auf dem Schoosse hält zweidrittel Profil, zur Seite Blick in eine Landschaft, gehört wol ursprünglich dem Raffael an, wenn auch die Originalität dieses Exemplars nicht völlig erwiesen sein sollte. Unter denen, die mir zu Gesicht gekommen, ist das gegenwärtige indess bei weitem das schönste und zarteste. Der Koft der Madonna ist wenig bedeutend, das Kind ähnlend sehr dem in der Madonna del Granduca.*¹⁶

This most beautiful little picture of the Madonna holding her Child on her lap, two-thirds profile, with a view into a landscape on one side, probably belongs originally to Raphael, even if the originality of this exemplar cannot be fully proved. Among those I have seen, however, the present one is by far the most beautiful and delicate. The head of the Madonna is unremarkable, while the child closely resembles the one in the Madonna del Granduca.

By the mid-nineteenth century the son of Vincenzo Camuccini, Giovanni Battista, began a concerted effort to sell his father's collection at the best possible price, with the purpose of buying the estate of Cantalupo near Rome with the proceeds. He commissioned Tito Barberi to compile an elaborate sales catalogue¹⁷ with fanciful provenances, designed to capture the interest of potential buyers (*Catalogo ragionato della Galleria Camuccini in Roma*, c. 1851) and moved the collection to a prestigious location, the Palazzo Cesi in Rome. Without providing a shred of evidence, Barberi wrote that the painting had been commissioned in 1506 by Maddalena Oddi, a nun in Perugia, and had remained in the possession of the Oddi family until 1636, when it was acquired by an unnamed Frenchman and taken to Paris. It was in Paris that it was allegedly acquired by Vincenzo Camuccini and brought to Italy.

The provenance recorded by Barbieri remains uncorroborated. Vincenzo was in Paris only once, in 1810, yet until about 1820 the *Madonna of the Pinks* was not among the pictures on display in his private gallery in Via Babuino, which the public could visit every Sunday. In his activity as an art dealer, Pietro Camuccini did not shrink from resorting to subterfuge in order to turn a profit. Together with Alexander Day, one of the most unscrupulous art dealers of the age, he facilitated the illegal export to England of Annibale

¹⁶ Alfred von Reumont, *Römische Briefe von einem Florentiner, 1837-1838* (Leipzig, 1840), vol. II, pp. 56-62.

¹⁷ *Catalogo ragionato della Galleria Camuccini in Roma*, c. 1851; copies at Alnwick Castle and Archivio Camuccini in Cantalupo.

Carracci's *Saint Gregory* altarpiece – then deemed to be one of the four cardinal paintings of Rome, next to Raphael's *Transfiguration*, Domenichino's *Last Communion of Saint Jerome* and Reni's *Saint Michael*. Having gotten his hands on the picture after it had been pillaged by the French from Rome's Church of San Gregorio al Celio in 1798, Pietro had his brother Vincenzo overpaint it with a worthless aquarel representing Reni's *Saint Michael*. The cardinal in charge of enforcing a strict new law on the export of artworks from the Papal Estates gave his approval, whilst privately remarking that its new owner had been grievously deceived.¹⁸ That same year Pietro Camuccini and Alexander Day assisted the Commissary of the French Army in selecting pictures to be seized from the Palazzo Borghese, among them Guercino's *Roman Charity*, later acquired by Samuel Woodburn. Given such exploits, it is hard to credit Vincenzo Camuccini's patriotic motives in purchasing the *Madonna of the Pinks* in Paris in order to save it for Italy.

Another fact militating against the provenance given by Barberi is a humble copy of the *Madonna of the Pinks* at the Casa Museo di Palazzo Sorbello in Perugia (See Chapter III: Uncatalogued, letter E), attributed to the little-known Flemish painter Frederick Gutter, who resided in Perugia for an extended period at the very end of the sixteenth century and early decades of the seventeenth. The painting in the Sorbello collection is quite obviously made after an early engraving, such as that of Jean Boulanger. Had the Camuccini picture been in Perugia in the course of the early decades of the seventeenth century, as the Barberi provenance alleges, Gutter would not have had to rely on an engraving for his copy of the composition. Even if the painting had been ensconced in a private collection, in a small community such as Perugia, the existence of so important an artwork could hardly have escaped the attention of a painter who had taken up residence there for an extended period.

At about the time that Barberi drew up his catalogue, intended to capture the interest of potential buyers, the Camuccini heirs moved the collection to a more prestigious location, the Palazzo Cesi in Rome. It was here that

¹⁸ *The Art Journal* (Art Union), vol. IX (January, 1847), pp. 11-12; Pryse Lockhart Gordon, *Personal Memoirs*, vol. II (1830), pp. 13-14. In his account, the author misidentifies the painter as Domenichino. For Carlo Fea's accusation against the Camuccini brothers, see BAV, Ferrajoli 450, fols 146r-147v, cited by Jaynie Anderson in "The Provenance of Bellini's *Feast of the Gods* and a New/Old Interpretation" in Joseph Manca ed., *Titian 500, Studies in the History of Art*, vol. 45 (1993), pp. 269-270. See also Pier Ludovico Puddu, *Pietro Camuccini e Alexander Day, artisti e mercanti di quadri nella Roma di fine Settecento* (Rome, 2020), pp. 101-103.



The underdrawing of the London version as revealed by infrared reflectography in 2005, using the SIRIS system. The fold of drapery between the Virgin's legs, on which the Child's left heel is resting, is practically absent from the finished painting. It is, however, clearly depicted in the version in Brescia (cat. no. 20). This could be explained if both versions were created in Raphael's studio, or if the artist who painted the London picture was familiar with the one in Brescia, prepared his underdrawing accordingly, but then decided to obscure this element in the painted layer.

it was seen by the Swiss art critic Jacob Burckhardt (1818-1870) during his voyage to Italy (March 1853 to April 1854). In the resulting publication, published the following year, he describes the picture as follows:

*Schon entschiedener florentinisch und mehr bewegt ist die kleine Madonna mit den Nelken, in der Galerie Camuccini zu Rom. Vielleicht ein Bild der Befangenheit, welche ersten Schritten in einer neuen Richtung eigen ist; eine fast genreartige Mutter des Christuskindes, im Hauskleid, mit absichtlich gedämpften Farben; übrigens so gedacht und ausgeführt, daß an der Echtheit doch nicht zu zweifeln ist.*¹⁹

Even more distinctively Florentine and more advanced is the little Madonna with carnations in the Camuccini Gallery in Rome. Perhaps an expression of hesitation, marking the first steps in a new direction; an almost genre-like mother of the Christ child in ordinary household dress, with deliberately muted colours; in any event, it is so designed and executed that there can be no room for doubt as to its authenticity.

Burckhardt evidently changed his mind based on his visit to the Camuccini Gallery, for he had previously dismissed the picture as a work of Raphael's school and deemed the original to be lost.²⁰ In 1855 the Camuccini gallery was acquired en bloc by the Duke of Northumberland and transported to Alnwick Castle in Northumberland.²¹ One of the first art critics to comment on the *Madonna of the Pinks* at Alnwick was Gustav Friedrich Waagen, the author of an exhaustive survey of British art collections, *Treasures of Art in Great Britain*, published in London in three volumes in 1854. In a fourth supplemental volume, published in 1857, the author explains that on the occasion of his second visit to Alnwick Castle the previous year, he had been given the opportunity of viewing the recently-acquired paintings: "... although the pictures had been known to me in Rome, yet the kindness of the Duke in allowing me to study them again on their arrival in Northumberland House was very acceptable." Regarding one of the collection's most valuable pieces, the *Madonna of the Pinks*, he wrote: "It is well known that the charming composition is by Raphael and of all of the numerous specimens of the picture that I have seen, none appears to me so well entitled to be attributed to his hand as this."²²

¹⁹ *Der Cicerone, Eine Anleitung zum Genuß der Kunstwerke Italiens* (1855), p. 894.

²⁰ *D. Franz Kugler's Handbuch der Geschichte der Malerei seit Constantin dem Grossen*, revised and expanded by Jacob Burckhardt, second ed. (1847), vol. I, pp. 572-573.

²¹ See Lorenzo Finocchi Ghersi, "« Il moccolo che va avanti, fa lume per due». Pio IX, il marchese Campana e la vendita della collezione Camuccini" in *Rivista dell'Istituto nazionale d'archeologia e storia dell'arte*, no. 27, vol. 25 (third series), 2002, p. 360.

²² Gustav Waagen, *Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain* (1857), p. 466.

Was Waagen merely being polite after having been liberally hosted at Alnwick Castle by the Duke and Duchess? “After spending the greater portion of the day in these studies,” he continues, “I doubly enjoyed a drive of several hours with his Grace through the magnificent park.”²³ Even so, the subsequent endorsement is not as unequivocal as it might on first sight appear. It is the composition that is attributed to Raphael, while the specimen in the Duke’s possession is said to be “well entitled to be attributed to his hand.” By using such convoluted language, Waagen was damning the picture with faint praise.

Throughout the nineteenth century experts generally understood the picture at Alnwick to be among the best of the many known copies of a lost composition. Such was the opinion of Sir Charles Eastlake in the third edition of his *Handbook of Painting of the Italian Schools*, published in 1855: “A school picture of this subject was in the possession of Cav. Camuccini.” In the estimation of J. A. Crowe and J.B. Cavalcaselle, it was “probably by a Florentine assistant to Raphael. The flesh is somewhat of leaden hue, but very smooth and glossy, and the draperies a little dull in tone.” In subsequent decades the picture fell into near-oblivion, from which it was only rescued by Nicholas Penny’s publication of 1992, following his visit to Alnwick the previous year, as mentioned above.

In 2005 a technically more advanced infrared imaging system, the SIRIS, was used to produce an image in which the unusually detailed underdrawing became better legible. Attributing this underdrawing to an accomplished artist of Raphael’s calibre requires a major leap of faith. There are oddities of a technical-anatomical nature, already visible on the painted surface, but even more starkly apparent in the infrared image, such as the Virgin’s visible thigh showing no foreshortening that would allow the viewer to understand where it joins her pelvis. Her strange toothy grin is even more disconcerting than it is on the painted surface. The bony ridge of her nose continues the slope of her forehead, with no intervening depression between the eyes. No less disconcerting is the Child’s malformed head with its unnaturally bulging forehead. The pupils of his low-set eyes seem to be directed away from the flowers that ought to be their single focus. His grip on their stem is unconvincingly loose. The sharp outlining of the lower eyelids and the heavy line depicting his left cheek are uncharacteristic of Raphael’s practice. His

²³ Waagen, *Galleries and Cabinets*, p. 474.

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figures are never stiff and doll-like, as in the present painting. The various deformities evident in the underdrawing, as well as the finished painting, such as the Virgin's bloated neck, puffy eyelids and swollen hands, have given rise to the patently absurd theory that Raphael used as his model a middle-aged woman suffering from thyroid goitre and myxoedema.²⁴ The derivative nature of this version is further demonstrated by the great simplification of the drapery folds in comparison with other versions of the same type, notably cat. nos. 12 and 25.

The reflectography shows remarkable similarities to that of the *Holy Family with a Lamb* at the Prado Museum. The head of the Madonna is of



Infrared reflectography of the Virgins' heads: *Madonna of the Pinks* at the National Gallery in London (left), and *The Holy Family with a Lamb* at the Prado (rotated 180° for purposes of comparison)

a similar shape and her lips are likewise unnaturally contorted, raising the suspicion that both works may be by the same nineteenth-century copyist.

Most importantly, the faces as depicted in the Camuccini-Northumberland version fail to convey the religious message inherent in the composition. What we *ought* to see is the precociously wise infant Saviour firmly grasping the flowers—a symbol of his Passion—in his right hand, while pondering their meaning with a serious expression signifying that he fully comprehends what they imply and voluntarily accepts his earthly mission. The artist must convey that single moment in which the infant Christ sees his future, recognises his destiny and becomes aware of the terrible suffering he must

²⁴ Davide Lazzeri, Ahmed Al-Mousawi and Fabio Nicoli, "Madonna of the Pinks' and 'Madonna Dell'Impannata': Raphael Sanzio (1483–1520)," *Journal of Endocrinological Investigation* (May, 2018).



The back of the London painting with its smooth, planed surface, free of any markings that might attest to its provenance.

undergo in order to redeem humanity. His firm grasp of the flowers should show that he willingly accepts, even welcomes his divinely ordained role. As for the Virgin, we ought to see her contemplate her divine Child with an expression of amazement at his divine prescience, combined with a tinge of sadness at the cruel fate that awaits him, but above all displaying appreciation of having been chosen to be the mother of mankind's future Saviour. With her left hand she grasps a bunch of flowers, seven of them in some versions, thus accepting the seven sorrows she was to suffer for his sake. The entire divine plan of redemption is encompassed in the composition. The utter absence of such meanings and emotions, both in the underdrawing and in the painted surface of the London *Madonna of the Pinks* poses a difficult challenge to those who would attribute the picture to Raphael.



An ink brush drawing by Maria Electrine von Freyberg, née Stuntz (1797-1847). Signed and dated "Rom 1821"

Inscription on the bottom left: "Raphael pinx."

Ruef Auctionen, Munich, 27 March 2003 (auction no. 496, lot no. 369)

Private German collection.

A INK BRUSH DRAWING BY ELECTRINE VON FREYBERG

Maria Electrine von Freyberg, née Stuntz, a native of Cologne, spent nearly two years in Rome during the years 1821 and 1822. Among the artworks that most impressed her during the course of her Roman sojourn was a painting of a Madonna with Child in the Camuccini collection. She proceeded to make a detailed drawing of the picture using an ink brush. Even a casual inspection of her rendition shows that the painting she copied was not the same as the one acquired with the rest of the Camuccini collection by Henry George Percy, the 7th Duke of Northumberland in 1855, and today on display at the National Gallery in London. The painting she saw and copied in 1821 was characterised by a wider pictorial space on all four sides, allowing all three of the carnation petals to be depicted in their entirety; likewise, the knot in the curtain behind her is seen in its entirety and is not cut off, as in the London picture. No haloes are present, indicating that figures may in fact portray a domestic scene in Urbino. In the distance, to the right of the main tower, a terrace with a roof supported by a column is depicted, where the London picture has a mere nick of black pigment. It would not have been possible for Electrine to deduce from the picture presently in London that the nick of black pigment represented a roof that required column to support it. Clearly, she copied the same original that Vincenzo Camuccini copied, but a with greater concern for detail and a better understanding of the composition's religious significance.

The Child's hair is much thicker than in any other version, except the one by Victor Michel (cat. no. 18). His grasp of the flowers is sure and convincing; his contemplation of them well communicates his understanding of what they symbolise. The Virgin's facial features, particularly her nose and chin, are better rendered and her expression shows no trace of the stiffness of the London picture. Her neck is more elongated, her eyelids less puffy, the hair framing her temple rendered more naturally, without the added strokes visible in the Northumberland version. Her lips are slightly parted not in an unbecoming grimace as in the London picture, but in pure wonder at the scene taking place before her eyes. Unlike her London counterpart, Electrine's Virgin is aware of the significance of the occasion and of the great blessing bestowed on her by the Almighty, that she of all women should be the one to give birth to mankind's saviour.



A pencil drawing by Victor Vibert, c. 1831,
after the picture in the Camuccini collection in Rome. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lyon

A DRAWING OF THE CAMUCCINI PICTURE BY VICTOR VIBERT

Victor Vibert (Paris, 1799-Lyon, 1860) studied art in his native city with a focus on engraving. In 1828 he was awarded the Prix de Rome, a stipendium for young artists to complete their education in the Eternal City. While copying Raphael's frescoes in the Sala della Segnatura, he befriended the French painter Victor Orsel. Among Vibert's last works executed prior to his return to France in 1833 was a meticulous pencil drawing after Raphael's *Madonna of the Pinks* at the Camuccini gallery. When received at the École royale des Beaux-Arts in 1834, the drawing was deemed deficient in certain parts, as it was considered that Raphael could not have painted the Infant Christ's right foot in such a dry manner.¹ Nevertheless, Orsel's biographer, Alphonse Perin, had nothing but praise for the drawing:

Après cette sérieuse étude, où il avait prouvé si clairement qu'il comprenait et respectait la pensée du maître, il se sentit appelé dans la galerie Camuccini par un précieux joyau, la Vierge à l'œillet, qui appartient à la première manière de Raphaël, & où la candeur de l'exécution s'allie avec tant de charme & d'à-propos à la grâce toute juvénile de la conception & de l'expression. Il en fit une délicate copie & en commença la gravure.²

Following this serious study, wherein he had so clearly proved that he understood and respected the ideas of the master, he felt himself called to the Camuccini Gallery by a precious jewel, the *Madonna of the Pinks*, which belongs to Raphael's first manner, and wherein the candour of execution is combined with such charm due to the juvenile grace of the conceptions and expression. He made a delicate copy of it and started to work on an engraving.

While in Rome, Vibert received an offer to chair the newly-created department of engraving at the École des Beaux-arts in Lyon. In the ensuing years, as a result of his continuing preoccupation with other projects, including an ambitious engraving of Orsel's *Allegory of Good and Evil*, he made little progress on the *Madonna of the Pinks*. Eventually, he entrusted the work of engraving his drawing to his pupils.

¹ *Journal des Artistes*, 8^e Année, 2^e Volume, no. 15, 12 October 1934.

² *Oeuvres diverses de Victor Orsel (1790-1850), mises en lumière et présentées par Alphonse Perin*, vol. I (1852), fasc. 4, p. 18. The drawing received equally unreserved praise in the elegy of the artist, read before the Lyon Academy after Vibert's death in 1860 by Martin Daussigny. See "Éloge de Victor Vibert" in *Mémoires de l'Académie impériale des sciences, belles lettres et arts de Lyon*, nouvelle série, vol. IX (1860-1861), pp. 101-121.



A copper engraving after Vibert's drawing, published by Auguste Lehman and Joseph Chevron 1852, Bibliothèque nationale, Paris, Cabinet des Estampes

AN ENGRAVING AFTER VIBERT'S DRAWING BY LEHMANN & CHEVRON

Unable to complete the engraving in a timely manner, Vibert decided to entrust the task to two of his Lyonnese pupils, Auguste Lehman (1822-1872) and Joseph Chevron (1824-1875), who published the finished work in 1852. The engraving diverges from Vibert's drawing only in minor details. The knot in the curtain is simplified in the print, and the outline of the child's right cheek is more pronounced. The major difference is the insertion of a loincloth, deemed appropriate in an engraving destined for wide distribution.



An engraving by Achille-Louis Martinet

AN ENGRAVING BY ACHILLE-LOUIS MARTINET

A precise copper engraving by Achille-Louis Martinet (1806-1867) of the Camuccini picture, apparently derived from the Lehmann & Chevron engraving, published twenty years previously (cat. no. 15). In the aftermath of its publication in 1872 it received an enthusiastic review from the art critic Pierre Dax.¹

1 *L'Artiste*, 1873, vol. 44, pp. 330-31.



An engraving by Victor Michel, published in
Jean-Germain-Désiré Armengaud, *Les Galeries publiques de l'Europe* (1856)

AN ENGRAVING BY VICTOR MICHEL

The engraving shown on the left was published in 1856 in *Les Galeries publiques de l'Europe*, a prize-winning publication by Jean-Germain-Désiré Armengaud with illustrations by Victor Michel. While it purported to be an illustration of Raphael's "La Vierge à l'Oeillet" in the Camuccini collection in Rome, it appears to portray a different version, yet to be identified – unless the engraver took unusual liberties to correct the deficiencies of the Camuccini picture, presently at the National Gallery in London.¹ Apart from the frame, which is by all indications an invention of the illustrator, since several other paintings shown in the book are endowed with nearly identical frames, the composition diverges from the Camuccini picture in significant ways. Details, such as the detailed rendering of the drapery folds covering the Virgin's proper right leg, which allow the viewer to visualise where her upper thighs meet her trunk, the expanded visual field and the child's full head of hair, hark back to Jean Couvay's engraving (cat. no. 9), to the ex-Luglien-Leroy version (cat. no. 12), and to Electrine Stuntz' ink brush drawing (cat. no. 14). The Virgin's expression is more serene, with a touch of melancholy, while the Child's gaze is not directed sideways, but forthrightly at the flowers he is grasping with his right hand. Armengaud gives a glowing description of the Camuccini picture, while assigning it a provenance that could only have come from the owners, or more precisely, from the Barberi catalogue.

Armengaud's book won the medal of honour at the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1855 and soon gained immense popularity. The same engraving was reprinted in subsequent editions, as well as in *The Arts-Journal* in 1860, again as an illustration of the painting in the Camuccini collection, which by then had been purchased by Lord Algernon of Alnwick, Northumberland. In the opinion of the art critic James Dafforne (1804-1880), "this painting, which takes its name from the flowers in the hands of the Madonna, is an excellent example of Raffaello's earliest style, delicate and graceful as a composition, but not entirely free from the manner of Perugino."²

The print resurfaced in 1957 in the magazine *Combat* (18 February 1957) as an illustration to a letter by George Isario referring to a version of the composition in a private collection in Nice (cat. no. 72).

¹ Jean-Germain-Désiré Armengaud, *Les Galeries publiques de l'Europe* (1856), p. 351.

² James Dafforne in *The Arts-Journal* (1860), p. 204.



AN ENGRAVING BY GIOVANNI FARRUGIA

Karl Ruland describes the print at the Royal Library as an “engraving by Giov. Farrugia, after the Duke of Northumberland’s picture when in the Camuccini Collection.” The notion that Farrugia (1798-1861) engraved the Camuccini picture is based on the last line of the legend underneath the engraving, which reads in translation: “The original of the same size exists in Rome in the gallery of the most celebrated painter Cavaliere Camuccini”. Writing in 1992, Nicolas Penny claimed that Farrugia’s engraving was a “very precise” rendition of the Camuccini picture.¹ Yet a careful examination of the engraving gives rise to doubts whether Camuccini’s picture could have been the subject of Farrugia’s engraving. In representing the Child’s eyes, Farrugia distinguishes between the pupils and the iris, which in the London picture are merged into undifferentiated dark spots. The Madonna’s head has a different shape and her expression is more serene and dignified, in contrast to the Camuccini Virgin, whose toothy smile shows no inkling of the divine mystery unfolding before her.

The text underneath the engraving reads as follows:

Raffaello Sanzio d’Urbino dipinse Giuseppe Longhi diresse Giovanni Farrugia Maltese disegno ed incise
 LA MADONNA DEI GAROFANI
 Dedicata agli Amatori e Protettori delle Belle Arti
 Giovanni Farrugia Maltese la sua prima produzione ossequiamente D.D.D.
 L’originale della stessa grandezza esiste in Roma nella galleria del celeberrimo pittore Sig. Cav.re Camuccini
 Deposto nella I. R. Biblioteca Milano 1828

Farrugia had left Florence for Milan in 1826 to study the art of engraving at the Brera Academy under Giuseppe Longhi and the credits underneath the engraving state that it was completed under Longhi’s supervision (“Giuseppe Longhi diresse”). Penny describes Farrugia as “a Maltese protégé of the Camuccini” but I have not been able to find any record of such a relationship. At the time Farrugia produced his engraving of the *Madonna dei Garofani*, he had been working under Longhi in Milan for two years. Farrugia had come to Rome in 1817 as a young man of 19 on a scholarship sponsored by Malta’s first British governor, Sir Thomas Maitland. He trained under Tommaso Minardi at the Accademia di San Lucca in Rome, where his presence is recorded between April and November 1825, then under Angelo Bertini, before leaving for Florence to continue his studies

¹ Nicholas Penny, “Raphael’s ‘Madonna dei garofani’ Rediscovered,” *The Burlington Magazine* 134, no. 1067, Feb. 1992, pp. 67–81.

under Raffaello Morghen.² No doubt he knew the Camuccini brothers from his Roman years, but after his departure for Florence the closeness of any such relationship would of necessity have diminished. He could hardly have been their protégé during the years when he first drew and then engraved the composition. Farrugia's engraving was most likely based on a version of Raphael's painting that was accessible to him in Milan or its environs, possibly the version then in the possession of Count Paolo Tosio and available for public viewing in his private gallery in Brescia (cat. no. 20).

The preparatory drawing for the *Madonna dei Garofani* was one of two such drawings after paintings by Raphael presented by Farrugia in the summer of 1827 at the annual fine arts exhibition at the Brera Palace in Milan the home of the Academy of Fine Arts. It is briefly noted in the publication of the academy:

Commendevoli furono parimente trovati ... molti disegni e studj a matita nera trattati con molto gusto ed intelligenza che vennero esposti dal sig. Giovanni Farrugia maltese: erano i primi tratti da due quadri di Raffaello, e rappresentavano due Madonne col putto, in una delle quali di maggior composizione contavasi anche la figura del piccolo S. Giovanni; i secondi erano teste copiate d'appresso i dipinti di Pietro Perugino.³

Over the course of the following year, Farrugia worked on transferring one of these two drawings onto a copper plate; the project of engraving the second drawing, made after a different and larger Raphael painting that included an infant St. John, seems to have been abandoned. The first proof was ready by the summer of 1828 and was included in that year's fine arts exhibition at the Brera, as noted in the Academy's annual publication:

Ripigliando la nostra descrizione ... accenneremo ... la prova di una stampa tratta da un quadro di Raffaello, la Madonna col bambino volgarmente detta dei tre garofani, dell'incisore G. Farugia, maltese, allieve che si distingue in questa nostra scuola, ed un bel disegno di una mezza figura rappresentatne S. Sebastiano, tratta da Guido Reni, disposta per l'intaglio dal medesimo allievo.⁴

The author's proof, produced in late 1827 or early 1828, presumably without any inscriptions, was in the Vincenzo Bonello Collection in Valletta,

² Albert Canada, "Pietro Paolo Caruana: The First Lithographs Produced in Malta" in *Proceedings of History Week* (Malta Historical Society: Valletta, 1981), p. 50.

³ *Le glorie dell'arti belle esposte nel Palazzo di Brera l'anno 1827*, p. 33.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 45.



The first state of Farrugia's engraving - Musei Civici, Monza

Malta until sold by the Belgravia Gallery, St. Julians, Malta on 15 July (cat. no. 494 as "La Madonna del Garofalo, da Raffaello"); previously, it had been on display at the 1949 exhibition in Malta, entitled *The Madonna in Art*.⁵ The proof was soon followed by the first state of the plate, which comprised only the three credits directly underneath the engraving and the title "LA MADONNA DEI GAROFANI" in outlined block letters.⁶

The existence of multiple impressions of the first state means that it was put into circulation. However, before the end of the year Farrugia decided to rework the inscription underneath the plate, opting for a more standard spelling of "MADONNA" and a more elaborate typeface combined with decorative elements. The resultant second state also included two lines of dedication addressed to the academy ("agli Amatori e Protettori delle Belle Arti") stating that this was his first official publication ("la sua prima produzione") and concluding with the letters D.D.D. ("dat, dicat, dedicat"). Although Farrugia had been producing engravings for at least eight years previously, this was his first work as a student of the Academy. In fulfilment of his obligation to send an exemplar to the Imperiale Reale Biblioteca di Brera as a legal deposit, Farrugia added a statutory inscription at the very bottom of the sheet (middle): "Deposto nella I. R. Biblioteca" and on the bottom right: "Milano 1828".

The third state, illustrated above on page 70, resulted from the addition of a line mentioning the Camuccini picture. When exactly this occurred is unknown; the best estimate would be 1830 to 1832. The added line differs from the rest of the text not only in appearance (a distinctly different

⁵ Vincenzo Bonello, *La Madonna nell'Arte, mostra d'Arte Antica e Moderna promossa dal Comitato del Congresso Mariano, Palazzo del Vecchio Seminario Notabile* (Valletta, 1949), p. 78 (exh. no. 282).

⁶ There exemplars are known to me: 1) Civica Raccolta di Incisioni, Serrone Villa Reale at Monza near Milan, here reproduced: Copyright © Musei Civici Monza; 2) private collection in Lombardy, exh. cat. *Giuseppe Longhi & Raffaello Morghen: L'indizione neoclassica di traduzione 1780-1840* (Monza, 11 apr. - 16 mag. 2010); 3) Angelo Davoli collection at the Biblioteca Panizzi in Reggio Emilia (inv. 5868), published in Zeno Davoli, *La raccolta di stampe "Angelo Davoli": Catalogo generale*, vol. IV, no. 12285. The copper matrix, measuring 422 x 323 mm., is kept at the Castello Sforzesco in Milan, Raccolta delle Stampe Achille Bertarelli, no. 217. It bears the inscription: "Presso Giovanni Cogliati Cont. della Passarella 491 Milano." A print in the same collection attests to a previous state, which includes the address of the publisher and a reference to the Società delle Belle Arti di Genova.

typeface is used) but also in its placement on the page. The engraver did not even try to put it in an equidistant position between the statutory line on the bottom and the dedication. In every aspect the line disturbs the layout of the second state. It is unlikely that this insensitive intervention is the work of Farrugia. Quite possibly it was added by the publisher of the print, who considered that an explanation was necessary once the appearance of the Camuccini picture became public knowledge.

While living in Milan and studying at the Brera academy, Farrugia tended to draw and engrave paintings that were accessible to him. Thus at the annual exhibition that opened at the Brera the following year, Farrugia exhibited a preparatory pencil drawing of a painting by Sassoferrato in a private collection in Milan, which he intended to engrave:

Proseguendo il giro delle pareti era lo sguardo obbligato a trattenersi sopra due disegni di squisita esecuzione... il secondo condotto a matita del sig. Giovanni Faruggia maltese, allievo della nostra scuola d'incisione, tratto da un quadro di Sassoferrato in proprietà di S. E. il sig. conte Giacomo Melleri, I. R. Consigliere Intimo attuale e Ciambellano, destinato dall'esecutore all' intaglio, e rappresentatne la madonna col bambino sopra un gruppo di nubi, inventata da Raffaello, e conosciuta per un quadro, e per una stampina di Marco Antonio Raimondi.⁷

Farrugia's engraving of his drawing after Sassoferrato was published in 1833 under the title "*Thronus Meus in Columna Nubis*" with a dedication to Mons. FS Caruana. From the evidence here presented it follows that the Farrugia engraving is not in any direct relation to the picture owned by Vincenzo Camuccini and cannot be used to establish the date on which the Madonna dei Garofani first appeared in the Camuccini Gallery in Rome.



The copper matrix for the engraving in the Achille Bertarelli Collection in Milan

⁷ *Le glorie dell'arti belle esposte nel Palazzo di Brera l'anno 1829*, pp. 42-43.



Lulworth Castle, Dorset
Oil on copper, 29.2x 23.5 cm.
Photograph courtesy of the Lulworth Estate

A VERSION ON COPPER AT LULWORTH CASTLE

This fine version on copper is believed to come from the extensive art collection formed by Henry Blundell (1724-1810) at his residence of Ince Blundell in Lancashire in the years following his visit to Rome in 1766.¹ Henry's son Charles, who died childless in 1837, bequeathed the Ince Blundell Estate, along with his father's art collection, to his cousin Thomas Weld, who took the name Weld-Blundell. In 1955 Joseph William Weld (1909-1992), the grandfather of the present owner, brought the collection to Lulworth Castle in Dorset.

Gustav Friedrich Waagen, who saw the painting in 1853 in the course of his visit to the Ince Blundell Estate, describes the picture as "a very delicately executed example on copper of the Madonna of the pink; the same size as the small picture in the Camuccini collection at Rome, which I do not consider to be the original. The tone of the flesh has something insipid and heavy. The treatment makes me suspect a Netherlandish hand."²

The similarity of the two pictures is indeed remarkable. Not only is the visual field nearly the same, so are the facial features and expressions of the two figures. In both versions, the artist had difficulty in representing the strands of hair falling over the Virgin's cheek, which he has failed to convincingly integrate with the rest of her hair. However, in the picture at Lulworth he has outlined the contours of the Virgin's left eyelid in a more natural way, avoiding the puffiness apparent in the London picture. The Child's visage is more expressive and his gaze better focused. For all its faults, the Lulworth version compares favourably to the one formerly in the Camuccini collection, as Waagen also implied.

¹ In 1803 Henry Blundell published a catalogue of his collection, in which he refers to a picture of which "several duplicates" are known, "all of which are said to be by Raphael. It is imagined that many of them have been copied by some of his best scholars and retouched by himself, which are all called Raphaels, and of which number this may probably be one." Despite being referred to somewhat inaccurately as a Holy Family, no other painting in the collection fits the above description. See *An Account of the Statues, Busts, Bas-Relieves, Cinerary Urns, and Other Ancient Marbles and Paintings at Ince Collected by H.B.* (Liverpool, 1803), cat. no. LXXII, p. 233.

² Gustav Friedrich Waagen, *Galleries and Cabinets of Art in Great Britain*, Vol. III (London, 1854), p. 253.



Brescia, Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo
oil on panel, 30.5 x 23.5 cm.

A VERSION ON PANEL IN BRESCIA

A finely-executed version on panel from the collection of the Count Paolo Tosio (1775-1842) of Bergamo, who purchased it in 1821 in nearby Milan – along with an unquestionably authentic work of Raphael, the “Christ Blessing” – on the advice of his friend Teodor Lechi.¹ The two paintings came from the collection of the Mosca family of Pesaro. Count Tosio put the picture on display in his private gallery at Brescia, where it was seen a few years later by J. D. Passavant. In the first edition of his work, published in 1839, Passavant describes it as “with a fine finish, but cold in tone (*gleichfalls zart vollendet, aber kalt im Colorit*).” While closely related to the London picture (cat. no. 13), sharing with it such details as the exposed teeth between the Virgin’s parted lips, her puffy upper eyelids and the chink on the window ledge, the visual field is extended on the right – so that the carnations in the Virgin’s left hand are not cut off by the edge of the painting – and on top, so that more of the curve of the arch is visible. However, on the bottom, the edge of the painted layer is ill defined. The treatment of the Child’s hair is similar, but in contrast to the London picture, the strands of hair falling on the Virgin’s cheek are not added in a second moment. Remarkable is the fold of drapery between her legs, behind the Child’s left foot. A similar fold is present in the underdrawing of the London picture, but not in the painted layer, begging the question as to which is the copy and which the original.

In the course of the painting’s restoration, completed in 2005, a technical examination using infrared reflectography revealed a detailed, meticulously executed underdrawing, characterised by dense, parallel strokes in the shaded areas, apparently copied from a lost drawing by Raphael with the use of metal-point. If so, the artist had to have been someone with access to Raphael’s studio,² rather than, as previously thought, a Flemish master of the second half of the sixteenth century.³

¹ Bruno Passamani, *Guida della Pinacoteca Tosio-Martinengo di Brescia* (1988), p. 44: Idem, *Raffaello e Brescia, Echi e presenze* (1984), p. 38; see also Elena Lucchesi Ragni and Renata Stradiotti, *Da Romanino e Moretto a Ceruti, Tesori ritrovati della Pinacoteca Tosio Martinengo*, cat. exp., 2006.

² Bert W. Meijer and Renata Stradiotti in Bert W. Meijer, ed., *Firenze e gli antichi Paesi Bassi 1430-1530 dialoghi tra artisti: da Jan van Eyck a Ghirlandaio, da Memling a Raffaello* (Florence, 2008), pp. 196-198, cat. no. 45.

³ Renata Stradiotti & Pierluigi de Vecchi in *Da Raffaello a Ceruti* (2004), pp. 72-76.



Cabinet of Engravings, Hrvatska Akademija Znanosti i Umetnosti, Zagreb.

AN ENGRAVING BY DOMENICO MARCHETTI

An engraving by Domenico Marchetti (1780-1844) after a drawing by Luigi Calamatta (1802-1869). The drawing, which is untraced, must have been produced between the years 1820 to 1823, when Calamatta studied under Marchetti in Rome. Upon the completion of his studies, Calamatta left for Paris, later moving to Brussels, and did not return to Italy until 1860. This means that the painting reproduced by Calamatta/Marchetti was in Rome before 1823.¹ An exemplar of Marchetti's engraving in Zagreb includes a dedication to Andrea Barberi:

Al nobil uomo il signore avvocato Andrea Barberi, cavaliere del ordine civile di S. Gregorio Magno, collaterale di Campidoglio, academico di religione cattolica e socio di altre academie.

The order of St. Gregory the Great was founded by pope Gregory XVI on 1 September 1831. This would date the engraving to between 1831-1844. However an earlier state of the same engraving at Thorvaldsens Museum in Copenhagen (inv. no. E820) lacks the dedication and instead has the line "Detta del Garofolo." Marchetti was a friend of Thorvaldsen and engraved some of his sculptures in the mid-1820s. Thorvaldsen brought the engraving with him to Copenhagen in 1838.

The engraving does not appear to be based on the picture in London, since its visual field extends farther on the right side, displaying slightly more of the arch and of the landscape inside the window. Likewise, the flowers in the Virgin's left hand are not cut off on the right, as in the London picture, but are depicted in their entirety.

1 Rosalba Dinoia, *Luigi Calamatta (1801-1869). L'uomo, l'artista, le opere. Temi per una analisi critica* (2011), p. 49.



Musée de Sèvres, Paris
Oil on enamel, 31.4 x 26.6 cm. (including frame).

A CERAMIC PLAQUE BY MARIE-VICTOIRE JAQUOTOT

The enamel plaque, measuring 290 x 230 mm without its frame, was produced in 1817, after a version of the painting in a private Parisian collection, attributed to Raphael to which Madame Jaquotot had been given access. It is signed by the author in the bottom left corner:



“Victoire Jaquotot
Peintre du Cabinet du Roi.
1817.”

On 17 January 1817 Madame Jaquotot informed Alexandre Brongniart, the administrator of the Manufacture royale at

Sèvres, that she could arrange for the loan of a Raphael painting that was not part of the Museum’s collections, and was known in France only on the basis of engravings.

Based on a suggestion by Anne Lajoix, Nicholas Penny tentatively identified the anonymous owner as Lord Seymour, i.e., Francis Seymour-Conway, Third Marquess of Hertford (1777–1842), an avid art collector, whose estranged wife and son lived in Paris in those years. Even while admitting that “the deviations from Raphael’s design do not correspond to those in any painted version known to me” – in particular the number and arrangement of the flowers in the Virgin’s left hand – he concluded that the privately-held painting that served as Mrs. Jaquotot’s model was the picture allegedly purchased in France by Vincenzo Camuccini (presently at the National Gallery in London). He noted that the plaque without its frame measures the same as the London painting and that the colours correspond. Such evidence is inconclusive, however, since versions of this composition of similar size appeared regularly on the Paris art market in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (see below, Catalogue II: Versions without Images); furthermore, while the known versions of this composition only seldom diverge in terms of colouring, the carnations on the ceramic plaque are red, rather than pink, and do not correspond to the London picture in terms of their number and form.

The first version of Madame Jaquotot’s *Vierge aux œillets* was fired in May 1817, the second in June, as evidenced by Victoire Jaquotot’s

correspondence with Brongniart and Brongniart's notes, preserved in the Sèvres archives. It was exhibited at the Exposition des manufactures royales at the Louvre beginning on 1 January in 1818 and the following year at the Salon, with a note that it had been given by the King to Madame.¹ Some details about the painting that Madame Jaquotot used for her model can be gleaned from a report on the Salon of 1817.²

...la Vierge aux oeilleux. Les personnes qui n'ont pas vu l'ouvrage de Raphaël n'auront qu'une idée imparfaite des qualités qui distinguent la copie; les personnes qui l'ont vu, et qui savent avec quel sentiment madame Jaquotot a exprimé toutes les finesses qu'elle avoit à rendre, avec quelle heureuse audace elle a complété son modèle, en restituant certaines parties très endommagées, et en peignant, d'après nature, les mains tout-à-fait négligées par Raphaël, peuvent seuls bien apprécier le mérite de cette porcelaine, qui est pourtant un peu froide de ton.

... Virgin with carnations. Those who have not seen Raphael's work will have only an imperfect idea of the qualities that distinguish the copy; Those who have seen it, and who know with what feeling Madame Jaquotot has expressed all the subtleties she had to render, with what happy audacity she has completed her model, by restoring certain very damaged parts, and by painting, from life, the hands, completely neglected by Raphael, can alone appreciate the merit of this porcelain, which is, for all that, a little cold in tone.

The author of the passage just cited had evidently seen Madame Jaquotot's original, which he describes as being heavily damaged in certain parts and poorly executed in others, particularly the hands, so much so that Mme Jaquotot opted to paint the hands "*d'après nature*." He nevertheless accepts that this painting was by Raphael. The London picture does not exhibit signs of having ever been "very damaged" and this fact alone should exclude it from consideration as Madame Jaquotot's model. As for the hands, those depicted by Mme Jaquotot do not appear to be in any way more true to nature than those in the London picture. Assuming that the latter was indeed purchased by Pietro Camuccini in 1813 from the Barberini collection in Rome, as recently published documents strongly

¹ Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, Archives, Pb. 4 and Pb. liasse 1, as reported by Nicholas Penny "Raphael's 'Madonna dei garofani' rediscovered", *The Burlington Magazine* 134 (1992), p. 79 and nn. 27-30.

² E. F. A. M. Miel, *Essai sur les beaux-arts, et particulièrement sur le salon de 1817* (Paris, 1817 et 1818), p. 463.

indicate,³ it is hard to see why it would have been taken to Paris a few years later, only to be returned to Italy by 1828 – unless of course Pietro intended to put it on the thriving Parisian art market in the aftermath of the royal restoration. Pietro did travel widely in the course of his art dealing operations, but the documentation about particular journeys is sparse. He visited London together with his partner Alexander Day in October 1800 in order to deliver a consignment of old master paintings, which included such masterpieces as Raphael's *Saint Catherine of Alexandria*, to be sold at auction later that year,⁴ but there is no evidence of his presence in Paris c. 1817.

It is important to note that for the Salon of 1819 Madame Jaquotot prepared another copy of Raphael's *Madonna of the Pinks*, different from the one she had exhibited two years previously (*une autre copie du tableau de Raphaël, dit Vierge aux oeillets, déjà bien altéré*).⁵ This may be the one fired in June 1817, although it has not yet been possible to compare the two versions.

³ Patrizia Cavazzini and Pier Ludovico Puddu, "The Provenance of Raphael's 'Madonna of the Pinks'" in *The Burlington Magazine*, no. 160 (October 2018), pp. 833-839.

⁴ Letter from Pietro Camuccini in London, addressed to his brother Vincenzo, dated 20 October 1800, Archivio Camuccini, Cantalupo, cited by Jaynie Anderson in "The Provenance of Bellini's Feast of the Gods and a New/Old Interpretation" in Joseph Manca ed., *Titian 500, Studies in the History of Art*, vol. 45 (1993), p. 266. See also William Buchanan, *Memoirs of Painting*, vol. II (1824), p. 153.

⁵ *Revue encyclopédique*, January 1820, p. 276.



Galleria nazionale d'arte antica, Rome, inv. no. 1050
Oil on panel, 28.5 x 23 cm.

A COPY ATTRIBUTED TO FEDERICO BAROCCI

The copy at the Galleria nazionale d'arte antica, Palazzo Barberini, Rome, was described by the gallery's curator, Nolfo di Carpegna, as "*una delle più fini tra le numerose repliche*" ("one of the finest among the numerous replicas"). Like his predecessor,¹ he attributed the work to the early period of Federico Barocci (1526-1612).² It may be identified with Barocci's copy of Raphael's *Madonna of the Pinks* listed in an inventory of the collection of Cardinal Pio di Savoia, located his palace at Campo dei Fiori in Rome, drawn up in 1689:

*Altro d'una Madonna col Bambino
in seno assiso sopra un cuscino bianco
tiene un fiore nella mano dritta et
anco la Madonna alla mano manca
alto palmi 1¼ largo 1 con cornice
nera e piano di fico d'india del
Barocci copiata da Raffaello.*³

Another [picture] of a Virgin with the Child on her lap, sitting on a white cushion and holding a flower in his right hand and also the Virgin in her left hand, 1¼ palms high and 1 palm wide, with a black frame and panel of Indian palisander, by Barocci, copied from Raphael.

The picture is listed in 1724 in an inventory of Palazzo di Piazza de Fornari presso Sant'Andrea della Valle, as the inheritance of Principe Giberto Pio di Savoia. It is next recorded in the collection of Cardinal Silvio Valenti Gonzaga, becoming part of the Torlonia Collection after his death in 1756.⁴ In 1855 it is listed in a catalogue of paintings belonging to Prince Alessandro Torlonia at the Palazzo in Piazza Venezia.⁵ It was acquired by the Galleria Nazionale in 1892.⁶ The picture underwent a thorough restoration in 2004-2005, before being loaned for an exhibition focused on the Gallery of Cardinal Silvio Valenti Gonzaga.⁷

¹ Aldo de Rinaldis, *La Galleria nazionale d'arte antica in Roma* (Rome, 1936), p. 13.

² Nolfo di Carpegna, *Catalogo della Galleria Nazionale, Palazzo Barberini* (Rome, 1953), p. 20, fig. 58.

³ Archivio di Stato di Roma, Notari del Tribunale dell' A.C., Laurentius Bellus, vol. 918, fol. 461v.

⁴ Rossella Vodret, "Primi studi sulla collezione di dipinti Torlonia" in *Storia dell'Arte*, 1994, pp. 348-424; Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Ferrajoli II 689 (int. 30).

⁵ *Catalogo delle sculture, e quadri esistenti nella galleria del principe Alessandro Torlonia* (Rome, 1855).

⁶ Federico Hermanin, *Catalogo della R. Galleria d'Arte Antica* (Rome, 1910), p. 51

⁷ "Pannini e la Galleria del Cardinale Silvio Valenti Gonzaga" – Mantua, Palazzo Te, 6 March to 15 May 2005.



Private collection in Zurich
Oil on a poplar panel, 28.2 x 22.8 cm.

A VERSION ON PANEL IN A PRIVATE COLLECTION IN ZÜRICH

A fine version, probably of sixteenth-century vintage, closely related to the version at the National Gallery in London (cat. no. 13) – as indicated, among other details, by the Virgin's left puffy eyelid.

The picture was sold at Christie's London (10 July 1939, lot 34, property of W. W. Frost) with an attribution to Raphael. The Christie's identification number 322GX appears on the reverse of the wooden support. The picture was stolen from the present owner on 21 October 1994, as reported in *Weltkunst* on 1 December 1995 (Heft 23) p. 3466, but was recovered by Interpol on 1 February 1996 in Bogotá, Colombia.

Regina da Costa Pinto Dias Moreira, who restored the picture in Paris in 2010, established, based on X-ray fluorescence analysis, the exclusive use of pigments in use in Italy in first half of the sixteenth century, includ-



ing cinnabar, as well as pigments containing iron and copper. No traces of lead-tin yellow were found. The blue of the Virgin's robe and the sky was identified as smalt, probably originating from cobalt ore. C¹⁴ analysis of the wood revealed that the tree from which the panel was made must have been felled by the middle of the fifteenth century.



Oil on panel, 28.3 x 22.8 cm.

For the raw image, see the photographic archive of Federico Zeri, no. 79957; in the image shown above some of the defects of the photograph have been digitally repaired.

An anonymous inscription on the back reads: "Mr. J.C. Schock [?]"

A PHOTOGRAPH OF AN UNIDENTIFIED PAINTING

A black-and-white photograph conserved at the Fototeca of Federico Zeri is the only evidence of this highly-finished version, characterised by subtle shadowing that yields a convincing three-dimensionality. The flow of the Virgin's drapery, in particular, is smoother and more natural than in the London version. At a point defined by the heel of the Child's proper right leg the artist makes a clear distinction between the tighter-fitting drapery of the Virgin's lower thigh and the looser folds of what appears to be a separate piece of cloth, covering her lap. Another distinct piece of cloth of a lighter shade covers the bench on which the Virgin is sitting. The expressions of both figures, particularly the Child's focused gaze, well correspond to the religious import of the scene. Details of the landscape with its ruins and the painter's choice to restrict the field of vision on the right, resulting in the cutting off of the rightmost flower petal, qualifies the picture as antecedent to the London version.



August F. Semmler, engraving of an otherwise undocumented version
Royal Library of Windsor Castle, Ruland Collection

AN ENGRAVING BY AUGUST F. SEMMLER

August F. Semmler (1825-1893), born in Leipzig, studied engraving at the *Akademie für Malerei*. In 1861, following an extended study journey through Europe, he settled in Dresden, where in 1861 he engraved an unidentified version of Raphael's *Madonna of the Pinks*, then probably in a German private collection.¹ The faces of both Virgin and Child are finely modelled. Her mouth is slightly open, showing teeth, but there is barely any indication of a smile. Five flowers are portrayed, as in other versions of the Couvay type, but the Child holds only a single one in his right hand, while the Virgin holds the remaining four. The pictorial space is slightly extended on the right, so that none of the flowers is cut off, but abbreviated on the bottom. As in the Couvay engraving and the version in Brescia, the Child's right foot rests on a fold of drapery between the Virgin's legs. The tree growing in the background next to the ruins is depicted in a realistic way and is not bent, as in the London picture.

Wilhelm Lübke, who published the print in 1875, deemed the original of the composition to be lost.²

1 Fr. Müller, Karl Klunzinger and A. Seubert, *Die Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker* vol. III (Stuttgart, 1864), p. 523.

2 Wilhelm Lübke, *Raffael-Werk, Sämmtliche Tafelbilder und Fresken des Meisters in Nachbildungen nach Kupferstichen und Photographien* (Dresden 1875), illustrated in vol. I, n. 18 and discussed in vol. III, p. 99. Semmler's engraving is also reproduced in Adolf Gutbier, *Raffaels Madonnen und heilige Familien in Nachbildungen nach Kupferstichen und Photographien* (Dresden, 1881), p. 49, no. 18.



Galerie Hans, Hamburg, Germany
Oil and tempera on panel, 37.1 x 29.4 mm.

A VERSION ON PANEL IN HAMBURG

A highly-finished version at Galerie Hans in Hamburg, Germany, somewhat larger than most other versions. It is said to originate from the collection of a noble Hungarian family and was brought to Germany via Switzerland in the 1950s. The picture is closely related to the Marchetti engraving (cat. no. 21), as well as to painted versions at Villa Albani in Rome (cat. no. 28) and in a private collection in New Hampshire (no. 29). The visual field in all of these versions is more extended on the right than in the London picture. However, in the present painting, the bench on which the Virgin sits does not extend as far downward as in the mentioned analogues. As noted by Jürgen Lehman in an expert opinion submitted in September 2015, its warmer colour palette is closer to Raphael's usage than the excessively cold tones of the London picture.

The infant Christ's well-formed head resembles that of the Semmler engraving (cat. no. 25). His gaze, steadfastly focused on the flowers, indicates that he has well understood their import. The key message of Raphael's composition – that the infant Christ has seen his destiny and seized it – may not be as evident as in some other versions, such as the one in Vermont (cat. no. 10), nevertheless, it remains legible. The Virgin's lips are slightly, almost imperceptibly parted, but no teeth are shown. Her somewhat stylised, nearly expressionless face shares the London picture's anatomical anomaly of a nose that continues the slope of the forehead, with no regard for a natural depression below the ridge of the eyebrows. The artist has simplified the model he was copying by omitting fine details, such as the complex pleated arrangement of the Virgin's hair, of which only a trace is visible below the ear. The picture is the work of a skilled artist, who copied a different version of this composition than the one at the National Gallery in London.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

James Beck, "Raphael's Madonna of the Pinks: A Connoisseurship Challenge," *Source*, vol. XXIV, no. 2 (Winter, 2005), p. 56.



A version on panel at Villa Albani in Rome
photographed in 1890

A VERSION ON PANEL AT VILLA ALBANI IN ROME

A version at Villa Albani in Rome, thought to come from the collection of Cardinal Alessandro Albani (1692-1779); the earliest reference to the painting is in a manuscript catalogue of the early nineteenth century:

*la Vergina assisa tiene in seno il divin figlio porgendogli con la destra alcuni fiori, con vista di paese, dipinto in tavola da Sasso Ferrato, copia da Raffaello.*¹

It is noted in an inventory of Palazzo Albani at Quattro Fontane, drawn up between 31 October 1818 and 31 December 1818, as:

*Beata Vergine con Bambino sulle ginocchia, di Raffaello.*²

Another inventory from the first half of the nineteenth century specifies that the picture measures 1½ palms, presumably in height:

*Quadretto in rame di palmo 1½ rappresentante la Beata Vergine col Bambino sulle Ginocchia, di Raffaello d'Urbino.*³

The attribution to Raphael cannot be sustained any more than that to Sassoferrato, even though the latter one is repeated in the inventory of the paintings at the villa, published in 1869.⁴ A decade later, widely-read guide to Rome claimed that the painting was a copy by Vincenzo Camuccini:

In the 4th room are several fine pictures, including a panel of 5 compartments painted in 1491 by Perugino, a work of Giulio Romano, the Angels mourning over Christ by Cotignola, a Madonna by Salaino, another Madonna by Camuccini, copied from Raphael and a portrait of Paul III copied from Titian.⁵

The veracity of this surprising assertion cannot be entirely excluded. In terms of its conception, size and execution, the picture resembles the version in Hamburg (cat. no. 27) and New Hampshire (cat no. 29) and may have been the source of the Marchetti engraving (no. 21).

¹ Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, ms. Ferraioli 969, fol. 303 (no. 92, 4^a camera).

² Elisa Debenedetti, ed., *Il Cardinale Alessandro Albani e la sua villa: Documenti*, Quaderni sul Neoclassico, 5 (Rome, 1980), p. 98

³ *Ibid.*, p. 84. The painting is not on copper, as specified in this inventory, but on panel, as verified by the author on a visit to Villa Albani on 21 May 2006.

⁴ Stefano Morcelli, Carlo Fea and Ennio Quirino Visconti, *La Villa Albani ora Torlonia descritta*, p. 331, s.n. 67.

⁵ Giulio Silva, *Rome and Its Neighbourhood Visited in Eight Days*, (Rome, 1877), p. 36.

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A version on canvas in a private collection in New Hampshire
Oil on canvas, 30.5 x 25.4 cm.

A VERSION IN A PRIVATE COLLECTION IN NEW HAMPSHIRE

Purchased by the present owner in 2004. Previously Christie's New York, 4-5 Sept. 2002, lot 232. The painting shares numerous features with the version at Villa Albani in Rome (cat. no. 28):

- the view through the window, including the castle and landscape, the bushy tree on the far right and the shape of the clouds are nearly identical;
- the Child's loincloth is of practically the same shape.
- no teeth are visible between the Virgin's slightly parted lips; the bench on which the Virgin sits extends downward about the same distance, that is, considerably further than in the London picture, with identical folds on the overhanging drapery;
- the distance between the flowers in the Virgin's left hand and the edge of the painting is the same;
- in both pictures, the halos of the two figures are rendered by strong double lines



The painting's restorer, Barbara H. Beardsley of the Art Conservation Laboratory in Raymond, New Hampshire, found that the loincloth is not original with the painting. Such additions were frequently made to paintings in response to the strictures issued by the Council of Trent in 1563.

The back of the picture in its stretch frame.



Briscadieu-Bordeaux Sale, 2015
Oil on walnut, 29 x 23 cm.

A VERSION AT BRISCADIEU-BORDEAUX

Until recently, this fine version was known only from a black-and-white photograph in the files of the Louvre Museum, where it is described as a copy of a painting in the collection of Count Spada of Lucca (label dated 2 December 1938. This is evidently incorrect as the picture on the photograph has no affinity with the Spada version (cat. no. 49). The picture reappeared in a sale at Briscadieu-Bordeaux on 21 November 2015.

While the artist has simplified numerous details, such as the braids in the Madonna's hair and the folds in the drapery covering her lap, his representation of the psychology of the two figures is in conformity with the theological meaning of the scene. The Madonna's expression is one of tender affection, tinged with sadness, her lips slightly parted in wonderment at the scene she is witnessing: An odd calmness has descended on her divine son, as he firmly grasps with his right hand a stem with red carnations..., the symbol of his destiny as the Saviour of mankind. His calm, concentrated gaze means that he fully understands the awful fate the future holds in store for him. This makes all the more apparent the inadequacy of the child's evasive glance in the London painting.



A version on copper in the Lise Graf Gallery in Paris in 1981
Oil on copper, 29 x 24 cm.

A VERSION ON COPPER ON THE PARISIAN ART MARKET IN 1981

This version on copper was on display at the Lise Graf gallery in Paris in the spring of 1981, and subsequently in Saint-Paul-de-Vence.

It is known only from a black-and-white photograph included in an advertisement in *Art & Curiosité*, issue no. 82 (February-April 1981).

Its date is given as the first half of the seventeenth century.

The haloes with prominent spokes are a distinctive element absent from other known versions. The modelling of the faces and the richness of the drapery folds point to the Luglien-Leroy prototype (cat. no. 12)



A version formerly at Belton House in Lincolnshire,
in the collection of Edward Cust, Seventh Baron Brownlow.

EX-COLLECTION OF EDWARD CUST AT BELTON HOUSE

Despite the poor quality of the only available photograph, included in the sale catalogue¹ of an auction held by Christie's on the premises of Belton House on 1 May 1984, the version of the *Madonna of the Pinks* from the collection of Edward Cust, Seventh Baron of Brownlow, shows the hand of a skilled follower of Raphael. It is, however, not from the circle of Sassoferrato, as the author of the sale catalogue proposed. The Virgin's expression is one of wonderment at the prescience of her divine Child, whose eyes are fixed on the flowers in his right hand that symbolise his divine mission. Her nose is well formed, her slightly parted lips more full than in most other versions. The artist was less successful in his portrayal of the child, with its bulging forehead and sharply outlined lower eyelids.

The painting, measuring 11 x 8½ inches (the catalogue does not indicate whether the support is wood or canvas) was purchased in Rome in 1722 by Edward Wright, later passing into the collection of Sir Henry Banks (1711-1774), the father-in-law of Sir Brownlow Cust (1744-1807), the first Baron of Brownlow. In a catalogue of the Belton House art collection drawn up in 1805/1806, the painting is, unsurprisingly, listed as an original work of Raphael.

1 Christie's, *Belton House, Lincolnshire, The Property of the Lord Brownlow and the Trustees of the Brownlow Chattels Settlement. Pictures, Prints and Drawings*, 1 May 1984, lot 559, p. 183.



Carl Eggers, *Madonna of the Pinks*, c. 1832
Thorvaldsen Museum, Copenhagen, inv. B.36
Oil on panel, 28.8 x 23.5 cm.

A COPY BY CARL EGGERS

Carl Eggers (1787-1863) was born in Neustrelitz near Dresden in 1787. Around the year 1816 he moved to Rome, where he remained for the next fifteen years. Before returning to his native Saxony in 1832, Eggers gave or sold two of his paintings to the Danish sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen, both copies of works at that time attributed to Raphael: the *Madonna of the Pinks* in the Camuccini collection and the *Portrait of a Violinist in the Sciarra collection*, now recognized as a work of Sebastiano del Piombo. Upon leaving Rome in 1838, Thorvaldsen took the two pictures with him to Copenhagen. After the artist's death in 1844 they joined the collections of the newly-established Thorvaldsen Museum.

During his stay in Rome, Eggers set himself the task of rediscovering the pigments and techniques of the Old Masters and after years of experimentation, claimed to have succeeded. His skills earned him a commission from Pope Pius VII to decorate the Braccio Nuovo at the Vatican, completed in 1822. In his history of German painting Ernst Förster alludes to Eggers' skill in imitating the Old Masters:

*Das charakteristische an seinen, übrigens mit Gefühl ausgeführten Werken, ist die Färbung, in welcher er den Ton alter Gemälde in ihrem gegenwärtigen Zustand der Nachdunkelung nachzuahmen bestrebt war, so dass man beim ersten Anblick irreführt, nicht ein neues Bild zu sehen meint.*¹

The characteristic feature of his works, generally executed with feeling, is the colouring, in which he strove to match the tone of old paintings in their current darkened state, so that the viewer is at first sight misled into thinking that he is not looking at a new picture.

In Eggers' painting the facial expressions of the two figures are even harder to read than in the Camuccini version. Eggers manages to include the third flower held in the Virgin's left hand within the painted surface, the furthest extent of which is not revealed by the available photograph. The bulge of the Child's forehead is even more exaggerated than in the London picture. The painting is thus not strictly a copy of the Camuccini picture, but may go back to a common antecedent. The presence of an underdrawing has not been established. As for the support, the museum's conservator who specialises in wood has tentatively identified it as walnut, some of its cracks having been filled with linden wood.²

¹ Ernst Förster, *Geschichte der deutschen Kunst* (Leipzig, 1860), vol. 4, p. 238..

² Private communication dated 23 October 2012.



A version in Zagreb, originating from the collection of Johann Anton Ramboux
Oil on copper, 35 x 24.5 cm.

A VERSION ON COPPER IN ZAGREB

The picture is first recorded in the collection of the painter Johann Anton Ramboux (1790–1866), the Keeper of the Municipal Museums in Cologne. It was purchased from his estate by the Croatian art collector Bishop Josip J. Strossmayer, who donated it two years later, along with the rest of his collection, to the Croatian Academy. Today it is on display at the Strossmayer Gallery in Zagreb. This version was not known to Passavant.

The Virgin's lips are parted, but no teeth are visible. The angular handling of her facial features is reminiscent of the Eggers copy (cat. no. 33) and the version in Hamburg (cat. no. 27). Her left upper eyelid is not puffy as in the London version and her smile is more muted. The treatment of the hair is tighter, with no loose strands portrayed on either figure. The direction of the Infant Christ's sideways glance is ambiguous, the pupil and the iris of his eyes being represented as undifferentiated dark dots. His expression betrays no better understanding of the symbolic meaning of the flowers he is holding than does that of the Infant Christ in the London picture.



The visual field is somewhat wider, ensuring that the flowers on the right are not cut off and the Virgin's golden yellow skirt on the left is shown in its entirety.



Musée du Louvre, RF 341
Dimensions: 28.3 x 22.7 cm

A VERSION ON PANEL AT THE MUSÉE DU LOUVRE

This version on panel at the Musée du Louvre was acquired in 1882 from Mrs. Timbal, with the rest of the collection of the Parisian artist and art critic Louis-Charles Timbal (1821-1880).

The field of vision is severely constricted, even more so than in the London picture. The Child's head is rather poorly rendered in comparison to the more delicate handling of the Virgin's face.

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Sylvie Béguin, *Les Peintures de Raphael au Louvre* (Paris 1984), p. 76.

Raphaël dans les collections françaises (Paris, 1983), pp. 121-122.



The painting in its decorative frame



A version at the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm
from the collection of the painter Johann Niklas Byström
Oil on canvas, 29 x 24 cm

A COPY ON CANVAS AT THE NATIONALMUSEUM IN STOCKHOLM

A somewhat sketchily-executed copy on canvas at the National Museum in Stockholm (inv. NM 193), measuring 29 x 24 cm. It was purchased in 1867 from the painter Lars Jacob von Röök (1778-1867). In subsequent inventories it was attributed to Garofalo,¹ perhaps due to the fact that Garofalo often included the carnation in his paintings. This attribution is, however, not sustainable. The perfunctory treatment of the Madonna's hair and of the blue drapery covering her right leg suggests that it is the product of a second-rate copyist.

In the second edition of his survey of Raphael's oeuvre, Johann David Passavant refers to a version of the Madonna dei Garofani in the collection of the sculptor Johan Niklas Byström (1783–1848), placing it among the versions that could go back to the early sixteenth century.² It is, however, by no means certain that Byström's picture is the same as that later owned by Röök.

¹ Georg Göthe, *Nationalmusei tafvelsamling: beskrifvande förteckning* (Stockholm, 1887), item 193, p. 238; idem, *Musée National à Stockholm, première partie: Maîtres étrangers (non-Scandinaves)* (Stockholm, 1893), item 170, pp. 291-292.

² Johann David Passavant, *Rafael von Urbino und sein Vater Giovanni Santi* (Leipzig, 1858), vol. III, p. 99. The picture cannot be identified among the 310 paintings from Byström's collection listed in *Catalogue d'une collection d'anciens tableaux de diverses écoles et d'ouvrages en marbre laissé par le Prof. J. N. Byström, vente à le 18 juillet 1853 et les jours suivants* (Leipzig, 1853)



A version in a private collection in Florence
Dimensions unknown

FLORENCE, PRIVATE COLLECTION

Known only from an undated photograph at the Witt Library, this version is said to be in a private collection in Florence. Stylistically it closely corresponds to the version at the National Gallery in London, as indicated by such details as the creases under the Child's eyes, the Madonna's visible teeth, as well as the similarly constrained visual field. The picture is of mediocre quality and shows signs of having been executed in haste. The two figures appear stiff and the Madonna's attempt at a smile is unconvincing.



A photograph of the painting published in *Life Magazine* (22 May 1939)

Oil on panel, 28.6 x 22.9 cm.

From the collection of Maria Orloff in St. Petersburg

THE ORLOFF MADONNA

The first known reference to the Orloff Madonna dates to March 1901, when it appeared at an auction in New York: "The setting is an interior, with a window at the right, through which is a view of a landscape with a castle. The Madonna, dressed in a rose gown mantle, holds a cluster of pinks with which the Child is playing. This little panel was formerly owned in Russia by the Orloff family of the household of the Czar."¹ In 1922 it was bought by Felix Lachovski, a Paris art collector, who received the following opinion from Adolfo Venturi (translated from the original Italian):

The composition of this Madonna of the Pinks, so many times copied by imitators, is found here in the archetype executed by the Urbino artist about the year 1506, when Florentine art was developing limpidity and interpreting its Madonnas in a more youthful way. Against the background of velvety grey wall, which seems to be enriched in the presence of the divine group, stand out the rose-illuminated white flesh tints of Raphael, the purest ivory of which becomes transparent on the neck and on the right shoulder of Mary, upon which blows a veil as light as air, flecked with crystalline lights, and on the precious delicate, rose flesh of Jesus, Who sits on the lap of the Virgin contemplating the pinks. All of the colours show the elect choice of Raphael: the blond hair flowing beneath Mary's watery veil, the rose of her clothes, becoming ruby in the shadows; the blue mantle lined with golden yellow; the straw-coloured sleeves, and the golden yellow of the drawn curtain. Through an opening on the right a stubble-coloured landscape is defended by a little castle fringed with luminous clouds in an azure sky. Thus, with his pure and chosen colours, did Raphael portray the divine group absorbed in sweet meditation.²

Venturi maintained his glowing assessment of the painting in the second edition of his monograph on Raphael, published in Rome twelve years later.

The original [Madonna del Garofano] is without doubt that in the possession of M. Félix Lachovski of Paris. It served as the model for numerous copies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This

¹ *The Connoisseur*, vol. I (1901), p. 37,

² *The Madonna of the Pinks by Raphael Sanzio, etc.*, Public Sale by Auction, 20 April 1939

72 VIRGINS: *Unveiling Raphael's "Madonna of the Pinks"*

Madonna recalls the Maddalena Doni in type and modelling of the face, in its calm expression, and in the limpid colour of its diffused light, characteristic of Raphael's Florentine period.³

In 1992 Nicholas Penny claimed, without citing his source, that this version was also certified as autograph by Oskar Fischel.

The painting was offered for sale once more on 20 April 1939 at an auction held at Anderson Galleries in New York under the purview of the



³ Adolfo Venturi, *Raffaello* (Rome, 1934), p. 133 and fig. 55.

American Art Association and was purchased by Mrs. Drury Cooper for 60 thousand dollars, as reported in *Life Magazine*. The catalogue of this sale states that the Virgin's gown is the colour of warm rose, trimmed with touches of gold braid, white lace at the bodice, a blue mantle having fallen on her lap.

When last presented at auction (by Skinner Inc. in Boston on 14 May 2004), the painting was described as "oil on panel, framed (under glass); condition: retouch, cradled, craquelure with flaking and losses." The reddish-pink colour of the Virgin's tunic is distinctive and more typical of Raphael's palette than the steely grey tone of the London picture.

Details of the painting, as published in the 1939 sale catalogue, are shown below. The Orloff painting is closely related to the picture in London, but not directly dependent on it, in view of its treatment of the Virgin's face, particularly her thin, well-formed nose and full lips.



Details of the painting, from the American Arts Association catalogue for the auction of 20 April 1939, entitled *The Madonna of the Pinks* by Raphael Sanzio, p. 45



Musée des Beaux Arts, Dijon, inv. 26
Provenance: Collection of Anthelme & Edma Trimolet, bequest of 1878
Oil on copper, 28 x 22 cm.

A VERSION ON COPPER AT THE MUSÉE DES BEAUX-ARTS IN DIJON

In this charming version of Raphael's composition, the background takes on a more realistic aspect than in most others of the same type. The road leading up to the castle is lined with realistic rock formations and the building to the right of the crenelated tower has a terrace with a loggia, indicated by a sloping roof and a single column. In the London picture this loggia has practically disappeared; all that is left of it is the roof, indicated by a tiny dab of dark paint.

The Virgin's small mouth pouts awkwardly as her lips part to show teeth, in a way somewhat analogous to the version in Leipzig (cat. letter J). Her thin and well-shaped nose rises naturally below the ridge of the brows, independently of the slope of the forehead. By portraying both the pupil and the iris of the Child's eyes, the artist has succeeded in removing any ambiguity as to the focus of his attention, namely the flowers he is firmly grasping with his right hand. The visual field is somewhat less constrained than in the London picture, allowing all three flowers held in the Virgin's left hand to be shown, along with the curvature of the arch up to the top.

While the picture appears to be of eighteenth-century vintage, the iconography is arguably more faithful to the lost original than that of the London version. The child's grasp of the flowers is convincing and his comprehension of their meaning sufficiently well represented. The Virgin's expression does communicate her understanding of the significance of what is unfolding before her eyes. Nevertheless, her somewhat contorted mouth and exposed teeth attest to the artist's unwillingness or inability to depart from his model.

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Emile Glaize, *Catalogue descriptif des objets d'arts formant le Musée d'Anthelme et Edna Trimolet* (Dijon, 1883), n. 26 (as Garofalo).

Jeanne Magnin, *Picture in the Museum of Dijon* (Dijon, 1914), n. 26, p. 31.

Marguerite Guillaume, *Catalogue raisonné du Musée de Beaux-arts de Dijon, Peintures Italiennes* (Dijon 1980), n. 101 reproduced.



From the Breadalbane Collection in Berwickshire
Oil on copper, 30 x 23.1 cm.

A VERSION ON COPPER FROM THE BREADALBANE COLLECTION

In 2006 the picture was on display at the Atena gallery in Paris. It had previously been auctioned by Christie's on 27 March 1925 (lot 131) with an attribution to Raffaello del Cole. It had been part of the collection of Thomas George Breadalbane Morgan-Grenville-Gavin at his residence of Langton in Duns, Berwickshire. As noted in the sale catalogue, "The majority of these Pictures were the property of the 2nd Marquess of Breadalbane at Taymouth Castle; a number of them had been brought there in 1860 from the Marquess of Breadalbane's apartments at Holyrood Palace."

The facial features of the Virgin are handled with great delicacy; her expression is appropriately serene, expressing wonder at the scene unfolding before her eyes – her son accepting his divinely-ordained mission – combined with tenderness and sadness at the fate in store for him. In contrast to the



London picture, her lips are parted only slightly and no teeth are visible. The Child's intense gaze and the firm grip with which he holds the flowers indicate acceptance of his destiny and awareness of all that it entails. The visual field, although constrained on the left, extends further on the right, giving a fuller view of the arch and allowing all three flowers in the Madonna's left hand to be shown. In its present state, the picture is poorly modulated in the treatment of its surfaces, giving it a rather flattened appearance.



A version formerly at Callendar House in Falkirk, Scotland
Dimensions: 29.2 x 23.5 cm.

A VERSION FORMERLY AT CALLENDAR HOUSE

Until 1963, this fine version was at Callendar House in Falkirk, Scotland, built by William Forbes in the eighteenth century. The house was sold to the Falkirk Burgh Council in 1963 and its contents auctioned by Dowell's Ltd. directly on the premises in October of that year.

The anonymous artist has reduced the number of flowers to a total of three. His eyes, the pupils of which are distinctly delineated, are focused on the flower that represents his destiny, and he contemplates it with utmost seriousness. The Virgin's expression is equally serious, yet full of tenderness, indicating that she well understands the import of the Child's fascination with the flowers. There is no hint of a smile and no teeth are visible between her closed lips.¹



¹ "Catalogue of the Valuable Furnishings of Callendar House, Falkirk, to be sold by auction by Dowell's Ltd." (October 1963).



A version in the Martin V. Wagner Museum in Würzburg
Oil on panel, 310 x 244 cm

A VERSION AT THE MARTIN V. WAGNER MUSEUM IN WÜRZBURG

The version on display in the Martin V. Wagner Museum of Würzburg University was acquired by Würzburg University professor Franz Josef Fröhlich c. 1840 from the Rüttimann Collection and was donated to the university in 1859 along with the rest of his large collection of paintings and engravings.

The picture was not known to Passavant at the time of the publication of the first edition of his survey of Raphael's work (1839), but was included in the supplementary third volume, published in 1858. In the second, French, edition of his work, published two years later, 1860, Passavant had nothing but praise for prof. Fröhlich's picture: "*C'est un tableau très délicatement traité et d'une bonne harmonie.*"

As distinct from most other versions, the Virgin's tunic has a bluish tinge. The sideways gaze of the Child and the treatment of his hair have close analogues in the prototypes in Brescia (cat. no. 20) and in London (cat. no. 13). However, the painter of the Würzburg picture paid scant attention to the rendering of fine details and in certain parts the painting appears to be unfinished, although this may be the consequence of excessive cleaning.

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Ingrid Schade-Schlieder: "Die Kopie der 'Madonna mit der Nelke' von Raffael im Martin-von-Wagner-Museum," unpublished 1996 dissertation (under prof. Stefan Kummer).

Emil Kieser, "Die Sammlung Fröhlich" in *Mainfränkisches Jahrbuch* 6, 1954, pp. 262-275.

H. Ragaller, *Martin-von-Wagner-Museum der Universität Würzburg, Neuere Abteilung. Verzeichnis der Gemälde und Skulpturen* (Würzburg, 1969), p. 43

Konrad Koppe, *Gemäldekatalog, Martin von Wagner Museum der Universität Würzburg* (1986), no. 395, p. 154.



A version on panel, auctioned at Lempertz, Cologne in 2003, lot 112
(after minor digital restoration by the author)
Oil on panel, 300 x 240 mm.

A VERSION ON PANEL, AUCTIONED AT LEMPERTZ, COLOGNE

This version, probably dating back to the sixteenth century, is difficult to interpret due to the yellowed layers varnish. Although close in some respects to the version at the Martin V. Wagner Museum of Würzburg University (cat. no. 43), there is no ambiguity in the present painting as to the direction of the Child's gaze, which is aimed forthrightly at the flowers. The chink on the window sill and other details relate it to the two early exemplars of the composition, in Brescia (cat. no. 20) and in London (cat. no. 13).



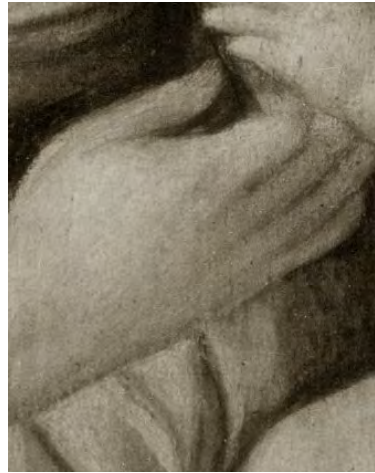
A version auctioned at Christie's, London in 1925
Oil on lanel, 11 x 8½ inches

A VERSION AUCTIONED AT CHRISTIE'S, LONDON, IN 1925

An unfinished version, sold at auction by Christie's (London) on 25 March 1927 (lot 25). The catalogue states that the picture had been exhibited at the Brighton Art Loan Exhibition of 1884.¹

According to information from Christie's archives, the buyer was Royal Navy Admiral Percy Grant (1867-1952).²

The unfinished state of the painting is indicated by the fact that only a thin layer of paint was applied over a detailed underdrawing that remains visible in several places, particularly on the Child's neck and left forearm and the Virgin's right thumb.



¹ Catalogue of Pictures and Drawings, The Property of Sir Stuart M. Samuel. Also Pictures by Old Masters and Drawings from Various Sources.

² Information obtained from Christie's archives by Ingrid Schade-Schlieder, included in her unpublished dissertation entitled *Die Kopien der Madonna mit der Nelke von Raffael* (Würzburg, 2009), The picture did not come from the collection of Sir Stuart M. Samuel (1856-1926), as stated by Nicholas Penny (1992) on the basis of a mislabelled file at the Witt Library.



Oil on canvas stretched over a wooden panel, 30 x 23 cm

A VERSION ON THE GERMAN ART MARKET IN 2022

Despite its poor condition, and correspondingly difficult readability of the technical execution, the iconography of this version is correct and convincing. The artist well understood the import of the scene he was representing. The face of the child is rendered with great sensitivity and fully conveys his deep comprehension of the divine mystery that the flowers signify. This grasp of the stem is firm, and his gaze calm and focused, indicating his determination to voluntarily undergo the terrible suffering that is in store for him and thus to fulfil his destiny without flinching.

The picture appeared on the German art market in the fall of 2022.¹

¹ Plückbaum Auktionen, Fine Art and Antiques, 19 February 2022, lot 1145.



Museo Civico Amedeo Lia, La Spezia (Liguria, Italy), inv. 228
Oil on panel, 28 x 21 cm.

A VERSION AT MUSEO CIVICO AMEDEO LIA AT LA SPEZIA

A delicately-executed version on panel at the Museo Civico Amedeo Lia at La Spezia in Liguria, probably datable to the sixteenth-century. The treatment of the hair and of the Virgin's garments is somewhat simplified in comparison to the version in London. Remarkable is the Child's expression, his gaze fully of concentrated on the flowers that symbolise his destiny.

In the catalogue of the museum's paintings the picture is attributed to the circle of Federico Barocci.¹

1 Federico Zeri and Andrea De Marchi, *La Spezia Museo Civico Amedeo Lia: Dipinti* (1997), p. 292, n. 12



A version from a private collection in Stockholm
Oil on canvas, 305 x 220 mm.

A VERSION ON CANVAS IN STOCKHOLM

A version from the collection of Mrs. Ingrid Norberg, sold by the Bukowskis auction house in Stockholm in November 1966 (lot 173). It was featured in an exhibition of Old Italian Art held at the National Museum in Stockholm from 3 March to 19 April 1944 (exh. cat. no. 94, item no. 147).¹

The Madonna's facial features, in particular the mouth, the nose and the eyes, are rendered in a sensitive and naturalistic way and compare favourably in this respect to the picture in London. Her expression indicates a premonition of her son's fate, displaying tenderness mixed with sorrow. There is no trace of a smile. The Stockholm picture is thus unlikely to be directly dependent on the London one. In its depiction of the Child's head it reproduces and even exaggerates all of the malformities present in the London picture — a bulging forehead, low-set eyes and a wall-eyed gaze. The Child's odd coiffure — the hair on the top of his head being brushed forward and that on his temple backward, is likewise characteristic of the London picture and its cognates, such as cat. no. 12 (France) and cat. no. 20 (Brescia).



Detail of the head of the Virgin in the Stockholm picture



Detail of the head of the Virgin in the version at the National Gallery in London

1 Nationalmuseum, *Uitstälning av äldre italiensk konst*, 1944.



Above: The Spada version following its restoration, completed in January 2022
Oil on panel, 286 x 228 mm.

A VERSION ON PANEL FROM THE SPADA COLLECTION IN LUCCA

A family heirloom belonging to the prominent Spada family of Lucca, this version was renowned in the nineteenth century as being closest to Raphael's lost original. The earliest reference to the picture is said to be contained in an inventory of the art collection of Cardinal Spada taken in 1696.¹ The cardinal in question is most likely Cardinal Orazio Filippo Spada, an avid art collector. In 1847 his heirs, Counts Cesare and Francesco Spada of Lucca entrusted the painting to Carlo Torrigiani and two other restorers to be transferred to canvas due to the deterioration of the panel resulting from worm damage. At that time the original wood support was identified as pear, also used by Raphael for the portraits of Agnolo and Maddalena Doni. The new canvas support was subsequently attached to a thin, cradled poplar panel. Johann David Passavant, who saw the picture before the mentioned transfer, mentions an inscription on the back that read: "*Per la Donna SS ricevuto 80 scudi. Raffaello.*"² This inscription of uncertain origin is no longer in evidence.

Later in the nineteenth century Raphael scholars Crowe and Cavalcaselle considered the Spada to be the best among the versions known to them, the picture from the Camuccini collection, then at Alnwick Castle in Northumberland, being "only a little inferior" to it.³ It is indeed a finely crafted work by an artist of great sensitivity and skill, who well understood the religious purport of the scene he was depicting: The Child sees his destiny in the flowers and by grasping them firmly with his proper right hand indicates his acceptance thereof. The Virgin looks on with tenderness and amazement at the scene unfolding before her. Stylistically the picture belongs to the early part of the sixteenth-century, and pigment analysis is consistent with such dating. The original blue pigment, identified as smalt, has faded over the centuries, probably due to extended periods of exposure to excess humidity, resulting in a colouration in which red and yellow hues prevail. Paint losses, evident in older photographs and further revealed during the

¹ Milan, Palazzo Reale, *Arte Europea da una Collezione Americana*, March-April 1964, no. 4, catalogue by Raffaele De Grada.

² Johann David Passavant, *Raffaël von Urbino*, dritter Teil (1858), p. 99.

³ Joseph A. Crowe and Giovanni B. Cavalcaselle, *Raphael, his Life and Works*, vol. I (London, 1882), pp. 343-344.



The Spada in its Renaissance-style decorative frame

picture's recent restoration, amount to less than three percent of the painted surface.⁴ Consistent with contemporary practice, the lead white pigment used in the draperies is absent in the areas representing flesh tones, which are modulated using superimposed layers of translucent pigments. An examination of the painting using infrared reflectography has revealed the presence of an underdrawing, notably in the outlines of the figures (the Christ Child's



Infrared reflectograph
courtesy of Atelier Catherine Polnecq

legs and left proper arm and the fingers on the Virgin's proper right hand).

The picture, encased in an Renaissance-style gilded frame, remained in the Spada collection in Lucca until 1927,⁵ when it was consigned to French & Co., a prominent New York art gallery. An annotation on an undated photograph in the Fototeca Zeri (scheda no. 79960) gives its location as the Bernasconi Collection in Milan. By 1964 it had been acquired by Countess Nadia de

Navarro of Glen Head, New York (1916–2014), who loaned it for an exhibition in Milan that same year. It was last auctioned at Christie's, New York, on 26 October 2016 and is presently in a private Swiss collection.

⁴ Adolf Rosenberg, *Raffael, Klassiker der Kunst*, 4th ed., with additional notes by Gerog Gronau, Stuttgart (1909), p. 201.

⁵ It was catalogued as in the Spada collection by Seymour de Ricci in *Description raisonnée des peintures du Louvre* (Paris 1913), p. 138



A version from the Urquijo collection in Bilbao, Spain
Dimensions: 290 x 230 mm.

A VERSION FROM THE URQUIJO COLLECTION IN BILBAO, SPAIN

A version formerly in the collection of José María Urquijo, exhibited in Seville in 1930. The photograph here reproduced was sent to Bernard Berenson on 26 May 1922.

The catalogue entry for the Ibero-American exhibition, held in Seville from 9 May 1929 to 21 June 1930, contains an imaginative provenance that may be summarised as follows:

Painted by Raphael in 1506 for Duke Guidobaldo de Montefeltro of Urbino, who sent it as a present, along with the St. George, to King Henry VII of England. The two pictures were taken to London by Count Balthasar de Castiglione, who left Urbino on 10. July 1506, accompanied by Francisco di Battista Ceci. For a century and a half the picture remained in the royal collection, in the hall where the Knights of the Garter used to meet; the back and sides of the painting bear the stamps of Henry VII and of all of the other English kings who owned it until Charles I, at whose death it was purchased by the Borghese family in the Commonwealth Sale. From the Borghese Gallery the picture passed to the possession of the popes and in 1863 was presented by Pius IX to the Marquis of Salamanca in gratitude for his services to the Holy See.

Since the whereabouts of the picture are unknown, it is not possible to verify the claim regarding the royal seals on the back and sides of the panel. We are, in any event, dealing with a painting of unusual quality. Its anonymous creator rendered the facial expressions of both figures with great sensitivity, attesting to his awareness of the scene's significance. As the child contemplates his destiny, the Virgin looks on with wonder, displaying only the hint of a smile. Her motherly love is tempered by her concern for the fate that he has chosen.

While the iconography is correct, the picture manifests the anatomical issues common to practically all versions of this type. It does, however, resolve one of the anomalies of the London picture (cat. no. 13), in which the flowers held in the Virgin's left hand are abruptly cut off by the edge of the painted surface. Here they are shown in full, with sufficient space to the right of them, resulting in a less constrained and more natural framing.



A version attributed to Bartolomeo Ramenghi

A VERSION ATTRIBUTED TO BARTOLOMEO RAMENGHI

A version of unknown provenance, attributed to Bartolomeo Ramenghi, known as *il Bagnacavallo Senior* (Bagnacavallo c. 1484 ca. - Bologna c.1542).

The photograph comes from the archive of Girolamo Bombelli (1882-1969) at Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e Documentazione in Rome (no. E113435).¹ An inscription on the frame identifies the owner as Foresti.

The iconography is reasonably well portrayed in terms of the Virgin's bemused expression, combined with her son's prescient acceptance of his destiny. The ruins in the background with their two crenelated towers, are more elaborate than in most other versions.

1 Published in Walter Angelelli and Andrea G. de Marchi, *Pittura dal duocento al primo cinquecento nelle fotografie di Girolamo Bombelli* (Electa, 1991), p. 247, no. 519.



Private collection, Sicily
Oil on panel, 319 x 258 mm.

A VERSION ON CANVAS IN A PRIVATE COLLECTION IN SICILY

This delicately-painted version of the *Madonna of the Pinks*, which is in a private collection in Syracuse, Sicily, and which this writer had the opportunity to view in person in January 2005, appears to be of French origin, probably from the early part of the eighteenth century. The picture has been in the possession of the present owner's family for six generations.¹ It underwent a restoration in 1971, when its canvas support was relined.

The field of vision is less constrained than in the London picture and corresponds to that of the version in a private collection in France (cat. no. 12) or in New Hampshire (cat. no. 29). No haloes are visible, even in infrared. The unusual brown colour of the curtain may be due to a deterioration of the varnish. Alberto Cottignoli has devoted a monograph to the picture, in which he analyses in detail the numerous features, particularly involving the Child's anatomy, that attest to the copyist's artistic sophistication.² He concludes that it is not based on the London painting, but rather on a version closer to Raphael's lost original. There are, however, inadequacies as well, such as the Child's low-set eyes and excessively high forehead, the claw-like fingers of his left hand with no indication of joints, and the Virgin's bulging eyes. The Child's gaze is well focused on the flowers that prefigure his Passion, but neither his expression, nor that of his mother, betray any understanding of the core message that Raphael's composition was meant to convey, namely the infant Christ's comprehension and acceptance of his salvific mission with all its momentous consequences.

The handling of the faces and the scale relate this version to one formerly in Tepetzotlan, Mexico (cat. no. 53).

1 According to the family tradition, it was the dowry of Fernanda Grifeo y Gravina (1829-1902), who was born in Madrid and baptised by King Ferdinand VII. She brought the painting with her to Sicily upon her marriage to Gaetano Maria Paterno Castello, Eighth Duke of Carcaci (1798-1854). The latter's brother, Giovanni Maria Domenica (1805-1863), was the present owner's third grandfather.

2 Alberto Cottignoli, *Siracusa Madonna of the Pinks* (2012).



A version formerly in Tepotzotlán, Mexico
Photograph courtesy of the Fototeca Nacional de Mexico.

A VERSION FORMERLY IN TEPOTZOTLÁN, MEXICO

A photograph taken between 1904 and 1908 by Guillermo Kahlo (father of the painter Frida Kahlo) documents a copy of the *Madonna of the Pinks* that used to be in the former Jesuit novitiate at Tepotzotlán, near Mexico City, now the Museo Nacional de Virreinato. The painting is no longer there and, as my informant, Clara Bargellini informs me, no one seems to know when it disappeared.

In its overall conception and with respect to the portrayal of the Child, with its elongated forehead and the claw-like fingers of his left hand, the picture bears close resemblance to the one in a private collection in Syracuse (no. 52). However, the execution of the Virgin's is more subtle, her expression more benign, with just the hint of a bemused smile, full of love, tempered by premonition.



Galleria Nazionale della Liguria
Oil on canvas stretched over a wooden panel, 295 x 235 mm

A VERSION AT THE PALAZZO SPINOLA DI PELLICCERIA IN GENOA

Prior to its acquisition in 1963 by the Galleria Nazionale della Liguria, the painting was known only from a black-and-white photograph at the Witt Library,¹ which shows the Virgin's halo in its entirety, thus revealing that the picture has been reduced somewhat at the top.

A seal on the back of the painting, probably of sixteenth century vintage, is attributable to the Carafa family.² An inscription, also on the back side, reads "*inventò Garofalo*," an attribution that is no longer accepted. At the time of its acquisition 1963, the work was attributed to Raphael's Roman circle and dated to the early decades of the sixteenth century. Recently, Marco Casamurata has argued for an Emilian provenance, remarking on certain stylistic analogies with the work of Correggio ("*vaga intonazione correggesca*") and assigning it a date at the end of the sixteenth century.³ The artist who rendered the scene well understood its significance: The child's singular focus is on the flowers that symbolise his future suffering and he grasps his destiny with the utmost seriousness. The Virgin's expression is one of tender love, wonderment at her child's prescience, tinged with sadness at what Divine Providence has in store for him.

The heel of the child's right foot marks the point at which the Virgin's garment, covering her right thigh, ends and the drapery loosely thrown over her lap begins, allowing the viewer to extrapolate the inclination of the thigh towards the hip. This distinction that is all but lost in the London version.



1 The photograph is tagged with the name of its owner, the conductor Francesco Molinari Pradelli (1911-1996).

2 Gianluca Zanelli in F. Simonetti and G. Zanelli, eds., *Galleria Nazionale di Palazzo Spinola* (Galleria Nazionale della Liguria: Genova 2002, p. 26.

3 Marco Casamurata, "Una copia della Madonna dei Garofani di Raffaello per la Galleria Nazionale della Liguria" in Alessandra Guerrini and Gianluca Zanelli eds., *Nuove Luci: Acquisizioni, donazioni e restauri: Galleria Nazionale della Liguria 1958-2021* (Genoa: Sagep Editori, 2022), p. 83.



Oil on canvas, 34 x 27 cm
Ruellan Auction, Vannes, Normandy
Tableaux & arts décoratifs
9 November 2019, lot 12.

AN EARLY VERSION ON CANVAS

This fine early version of Raphael's lost composition appeared on the French art market in the autumn of 2019. An annotated photograph in the Fototeca Zeri records it as having been with the Wildenstein Gallery in 1985 (scheda no. 79956). The pictorial space extends much further in all directions than in other known versions, making the scene less constrained and more easily legible. Although assigned to the seventeenth century French school by the auction experts (Cabinet Turquin of Paris), its classical style and warm palette are consistent with an Italian provenance; the Child's nudity would put its origin prior to the decree prohibiting such depictions, issued by the Council of Trent in 1563.

The frame is of eighteenth-century French provenance.





Oil on panel, 29 x 23 cm
Fototeca Zeri, inv. no. 79909

AN VERSION ON THE ROMAN ART MARKET IN 1989 & 1997

Despite the somewhat loose brushwork and lack of attention to detail, particularly in relation to the structures visible in the background, the psychological portrayal of the two figures is arguably superior to the London version, with which it, however, shares certain peculiarities, such as the odd puffiness of the Virgin's proper left eyelid. Her forehead is better proportioned and more graceful, and the Child's concentration on the flowers more convincing.

The picture appeared on the Roman art market in 1989 and again in 1997. Its present whereabouts are unknown.



A version on canvas from the collection of Count Géza Brunsvik
Oil on canvas, 245 x 310 mm.

A VERSION ON CANVAS FROM THE BRUNSVIK COLLECTION

Until the beginning of the twentieth century the picture was part of the extensive art collection of Count Géza Brunsvik de Korompa (1834–1899), formed over several generations beginning with the second half of the eighteenth century. For many decades this collection graced the walls of the family castle at Martonvásár, where the count's father Franz hosted Ludwig van Beethoven on numerous occasions between 1800 and 1808. Although we cannot be sure that the *Madonna of the Pinks* was in the family collection in those early days, we do know that it was sold, along with the rest of the late count's pictures, by the Dorotheum auction house in Vienna on 17–25 November 1902. The catalogue's unnamed author was quite certain (*fast sicher*) that it was a work of Domenichino (Domenico Zampieri); however, this attribution can no longer be sustained.

The grainy, black-and-white photograph included in the 1902 sale catalogue was insufficient to judge the quality of the painting. A colour image of good quality became available 120 years later, when the picture was once more put on sale, this time at Auktionhaus Stahl in Hamburg (7 May 2022, lot 371). This time it was attributed to a Florentine master of the first half of

the XVI century, identifiable from the lot notes as Andrea del Sarto. This attribution is, however, likewise untenable.



The Virgin's features are reminiscent of Jean Couvay's engraving (cat. no. 9), yet the bulge in the Child's forehead is more prominent, and the inclination of his head less pronounced. The Virgin's full lips are slightly parted as she contemplates the infant's fascination with the flowers he is holding in his right hand, a premonition of the tragic fate he is to suffer by divine decree.



Oil on copper, 300 x 230 mm.

A VERSION ON THE LONDON ART MARKET IN 2005

A version on copper, not entirely dependent on the London prototype, in a Sotheby's Old Master Paintings sale, July 2005, lot 425. In terms of the interaction between the two figures and the child's concentrated gaze, the iconography is correct.

The folds of the drapery on the Virgin's right leg help indicate the inclination of her proper right thigh, as it continues underneath the drapery to join the pelvis. It is due to the smoothing out of these folds in the London version that the anatomical construction of the principal figure in that picture remains unresolved.



A version formerly in the Bender Collection in Zurich
Tempera and oil on panel, probably walnut, 285 x 214 mm

A VERSION FROM THE BENDER COLLECTION IN ZÜRICH

The picture was discussed in two consecutive issues of the art journal *Belvedere* in 1934 and 1935, with expert opinions by Georg Gronau, Wilhelm Suida Giuseppe Fiocco.¹ In 1932 it had been subjected to a technical examination by Robert Eigenberger, who found underneath the painted layer “a violet-reddish-brown ground with a very fine-grained crystalline structure,” consistent with the practice developed in Leonardo da Vinci’s workshop in the last decade of the fifteenth century. He assigned the picture to shortly after 1500 and suggested that Raphael may have used this Leonardesque painting as the model for his lost composition.

Giuseppe Fiocco, agreed that it came from Leonardo’s circle and concurred on the date suggested by Eisenberger.

Wilhelm Suida judged the picture to be of high artistic value (*“künstlerisch hochwertiges Gemälde”*), while noting that it diverged from Raphael’s composition in that the flowers held by the Child are not carnations and point upwards, instead of bending towards him, as in other known versions.

Based on stylistic considerations, the authors reached the consensus that the work originated in Leonardo’s workshop between 1500 and 1510. Based in part on the colouring, they concluded that the composition was based on Leonardo’s *Benois Madonna* and was later adapted by Raphael for his lost *Madonna of the Pinks*. They observed that the effect of chiaroscuro was used in a way typical of artists in Leonardo’s circle, noting that the modelling of the Child’s head, in particular, was greatly superior to that of any other known version. How such eminent scholars could have attributed the Virgin’s lifeless expression to Leonardo’s circle is puzzling, however since the original is untraced, it is best to withhold judgment.

The painting was loaned by the owner to the Leonardo exhibition held in Milan in 1939,² but its current whereabouts are unknown.

¹ *Belvedere, Monatschrift für Sammler und Kunstfreunde*, 12. Jahr, 1934, Heft 1/2, pp. 3–6; *ibid.*, 1934/35, Heft 5/6 Amalthea-Verlag, Zürich, Leipzig, Wien, p. 105..

² *Leonardo da Vinci* (New York, 1965), p. 80. The volume is a translation of the catalogue of the 1939 exhibition, with additional illustrations and comments. The fact that the picture in the Milan exhibition was the same as that discussed by Gronau, Fiocco and Suida in *Belvedere* was first pointed out by Ingrid Schade-Schlieder in her unpublished doctoral dissertation, *Die Kopien der Madonna mit der Nelke von Raffael* (Würzburg, 2009), p. 329.



Sassoferrato (attributed to), *Madonna of the Pinks*, after Raphael

Oil on canvas, 746 x 597 mm, Detroit Institute of Arts, accession no. 89.25

Provenance: - collection of Joseph Gillot (1799-1872);

- his sale by Christie, Manson and Woods in 1872, lot 326;

- gift of J. E. Scripps, 1889

A VERSION IN DETROIT, ATTRIBUTED TO SASSOFERRATO

Oil on canvas, attributed to Giovanni Battista Salvi, known as Sassoferrato (1609-1685). The artist has reinterpreted the composition, known to us from Jean Couvay's engraving (cat. no. 9), perhaps due to dissatisfaction with some of its shortcomings. The handling of the Madonna's outer gown is entirely different, as is the choice of colours. The tightly-fitting sleeve on the Virgin's right arm is reddish purple, instead of yellow, her dress, instead of being grey in most versions, is purplish blue. The artist has tried to dodge the anatomical problems inherent in the London picture by moving the Virgin's right leg inward and keeping it almost parallel with the left. The shape of her right thigh being portrayed by clinging drapery the viewer has no doubt as to where the Virgin's thigh joins the hip. The artist has chosen not to portray the edge of the bench on which the Virgin is sitting. He has accurately reproduced the shape of the veil, but has made it less translucent than in most versions, while simplifying the hair. There are no loose trestles and no indication of any braids.

The scene is illuminated from the left at eye level and the resulting shadows are meticulously and consistently portrayed. The pink carnations are botanically correct. Despite their doll-like appearance, the figures' expressions indicate that the artist well understood the religious message of Raphael's composition. As the Child gazes at the flowers, he sees his destiny and his firm grip on the stem indicates that he has accepted it. His mother is no less aware of her son's future suffering and contemplates her son's symbolic act with an air of regretful resignation. Her lips are not even slightly parted. The curvature of her well-formed nose is not a continuation of her forehead, as in the London picture, but acquires a sharper slope below the line of the eyes.

Portraying the edge of the curtain in the background as a diagonal emphasizes the fact that it had been pulled away from the window. Combined with the nearly horizontal shadows, the time indicated is early morning. The landscape seen through the window has been reinterpreted as well: The buildings and trees next to a rocky outcrop are no longer situated atop a distant hill, but in a nearby meadow.



Sassoferrato, *Madonna of the Pinks*, after Raphael
Private collection, Switzerland

A VERSION BY SASSOFERRATO IN A PRIVATE SWISS COLLECTION

A large painting in oil on canvas, attributed to Giovanni Battista Salvi, known as Sassoferrato (1609-1685), is in a private collection in Basel, Switzerland. It measures 92 x 74 cm., the figures being about two thirds of life size. When first mentioned in print, in 1820, it was in the possession of the Basel painter Marquand Wocher (1760-1830), who was offering it for sale for 2500 pounds.¹ By the time Passavant saw it in Basel in the mid-1830s, the owner of the picture was the local painter Hieronymus Hess (1799-1850). Passavant was told that it came from the Franciscan Monastery at Lucerne, whence it had been removed by Obrist Pfeiffer, who replaced it with a copy. Gustav Waagen, the director of the Berlin Museum, described it in a letter from Basel dated 11 November 1843 as “an especially beautiful and attractive painting by Sassoferrato (*ein besonders schönes und anziehendes Bild des Sassoferrato*).”² After the death of Hess, it passed into the collection of B. Mäglin, where it was recorded in 1858 and again as late as 1867.³ In 1869, when lent for an exhibition in Munich, it was listed as the property of a Mr. Kellermann of Basel.⁴ It was last loaned for an exhibition entitled “Genève et Raphaël” held from 12 January to 25 March 1984 at Musée d’art et d’histoire de Genève.⁵

The picture is modelled after the London prototype but, like the version in Detroit, displays Sassoferrato’s understanding of the composition’s symbolic meaning – the infant Christ’s recognition and acceptance of his destiny. To resolve any ambiguity as to where the Child’s gaze is directed, Sassoferrato has raised the flowers high enough to intercept it. The faces of the Virgin and the Child are well proportioned and have the appropriate expressions.

The view through the window is closer to that in the Detroit picture than to the London prototype.

¹ *Trimester in France and Swisserland* (London, 1921), p. 49.

² Gustav Waagen, *Kunstwerke und Künstler in Baiern, Schwaben, Basel, dem Elsaß und der Rheinpfalz* (Lepzig, 1845), zwölfter Brief, Basel, 11 November 1843, p. 301.

³ *D. Franz Kugler’s Handbuch der Geschichte der Malerei seit Constantin dem Grossen*, revised and expanded by Jacob Burkhardt, second ed. (1847), vol. I, p. 573.

⁴ *Katalog der Ausstellung von Gemälden älterer Meister* (München, 1869), p. 26, exhibit no. 96.

⁵ Rainer Michael Mason and Mauro Natale eds., *Raphaël et la Seconde Main* (Geneva, 1984).



Copy after Marquand Wocher's Sassoferrato
Musée Vivant-Denon in Chalon-sur-Saône
Oil on canvas, 82 x 69 cm

AN EARLY COPY OF MARQUAND WOCHER'S PICTURE

A precise early copy of Marquand Wocher's picture in the collections of Musée Vivant-Denon in Chalon-sur-Saône. Gift of P. Chambion, 1866.¹

Unlike Wocher's own copy, made in 1821 (see below, cat no. 63), the colours of the Virgin's chemise and skirt are differentiated. This raises the question of what was the colour scheme of Wocher's picture. In his copy, the Virgin's garments are two different shades of purple. The metallic grey chemise of the picture under discussion occurs in none of the other versions ascribed to Sassoferrato, but is characteristic of most of the Raphaelesque copies, including the one in London. Despite the artist's inability to achieve a convincing three-dimensional effect, he has succeeded in faithfully reproducing Sassoferrato's original.

1 *Inventaire général des richesses d'art de la France*, vol. V, pt. 1, p. 13-29 (as a sixteenth-century copy after the Spada version)



A copy by Marquand Wocher after Sassoferrato's *Madonna of the Pinks*, dated 1822
Oil on canvas, 93 x 74 cm,

MARQUAND WOCHER' COPY OF A VERSION BY SASSOFERRATO

A copy painted in 1822 by Marquard Woher (1760-1830) in Basel after a painting then in his possession (cat. no. 61). Sold at auction in Zurich by Koller Auktionen AG, 26 March 2010, lot 3091.

Signed and dated "Nach Raphael Santio copiert von Marquard Woher in Basel im Jahr 1822"

Despite its mediocre quality, the Woher copy provides further information about the original, known only from a black-and-white photograph. Features, such as the naturalistic portrayal of the pink carnations, the view of the countryside and the shape of the curtain set the picture apart from the London prototype and have close counterparts in the Detroit picture (cat. no. 60), also attributed to Sassoferrato. The prominent fold in the Virgin's chemise at her right breast, together with appropriate highlights, help emphasize the volume and shape of her breasts and counteract their apparent flatness in the London prototype. This fold occurs in all known versions by or after Sassoferrato.



A version on canvas, attributed to Sassofferrato, from the collection of M. Gollin in Paris
Bernard Berenson archive at Villa I Tatti, 1926

THE GOLLIN-ONEONTA VERSION

A finely executed version on canvas in the style of Sassoferrato from the collection of M. Gollin, who died at the end of the nineteenth century. The photograph on the left was sent to Bernard Berenson along with a letter by a certain M. Groszos of Paris, dated 5 November 1926. On the back of the photograph is the note: "Photo de la toile 'La Vierge à l'Oeillet' provenant de la collection de M. Gollin, décédé il y a 30 ans" and a note in Berenson's hand: "Sassoferrato." The original of the letter is in the Bernard and Mary Berenson Papers, Correspondence: Groszos, Biblioteca Berenson, Villa I Tatti, and reads:

Mr. Groszos, 19, rue Clément Marot, Paris, 8e

Ce 5 novembre 1926

Monsieur,

La famille possède la toile dont voici la photographie. Nous avons à diverses reprises cherché une attribution possible sans que nul critique ait pu nous donner une réponse précise.

Un des mes amis, Monsieur H. Pardo, ami de M. Andersen le sculpteur de Rome, que vous connaissez, je crois, me dit que vous êtes la plus grande autorité en matière d'école Italienne et je prends le très grande liberté de vous demander s'il vous plairait de me dire à quel peintre vous attribuez cette peinture.

En vous remerciant très vivement à l'avance je vous prie Monsieur de pouvoir bien accepter l'expression de mes sentiments distingués.

[signed] Groszos

P.S. Ce tableau est sur une toile mais reporté, je crois.

The picture, dubbed "Madonna of the Coronation," was exhibited at the Gallery of P. Jackson Higgs in New York in July 1928.¹ In 1940 it was purchased from the Dodsworth art collection by Dr. Louis van Ess, pastor of St. James Episcopal Church in Oneonta, New York. Dr. Van Ess donated the picture to the church after the end of World War II.² The rest of his extensive art collection he bequeathed to the Yager Museum of Art & Culture at Hartwick College. For many years Sassoferrato's *Madonna the Pinks* served as the church's altarpiece.³

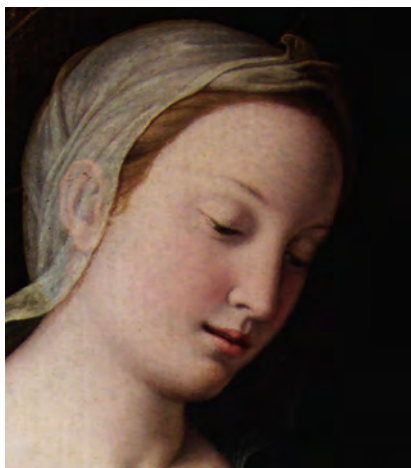
¹ *The Art News*, vol. 25, issue 38 (14 July 1928), p. 17. A comparative study of minor surface defects in M. Gollin's painting and that at Oneonta proves that they are indeed one and the same picture.

² Information kindly provided to the author in the course of a visit to St. James Episcopal Church on 26 April 2007 by its Rector, Rev. Kenneth Hunter.

³ *The Oneonta Star*, 22 March 1952, p. 2.



The picture bears a close resemblance to the version from the collection of Marquand Woher of Basel (cat. no. 61 & 62), from which it differs only in minor details, such as the halo of the Child and details of the landscape. Somewhat smaller than the Basel painting, the Oneonta picture measures about 80 x 60 cm, with figures approximately two thirds of life size. Upon inspection, the attribution to Sassoferrato appears justified. Like other versions by Sassoferrato, it portrays the moment the infant Christ comes to understand



The Gollin painting at the
St. James Episcopal Church in Oneonta, New York

his destiny, symbolised by the pink carnation. The Virgin looks on with an expression full of tenderness combined with sorrow at the terrible fate that is in store for her son. Unlike the London picture and versions derived from it, her mouth is not open and there is no trace of a smile. The series of versions by and after Sassoferrato, as exemplified by the one at Oneonta, demonstrate a correct understanding of the religious import of the scene, in sharp contrast to the London painting, where such meaning is no longer apparent.



The Oneonta picture *in situ* (photograph by the author)



A version attributed to Sassoferato, from the collection of
Don Pedro Antonio González de Garnica, Toledo (1708)

Oil on canvas, 31.1 x 24.3 cm.

Sold at Sotheby's Paris, 14 June 2022

A VERSION BY SASSOFERRATO FROM A SPANISH COLLECTION

The picture, still in its original 18th century frame, was recently sold at Sotheby's Paris with an attribution to Sassoferrato (Giovanni Battista Salvi, 1609-1685). This attribution appears to be correct and the picture can thus be identified as the source of several copies originating from Sassoferrato's studio and his school, such as catalogue numbers 65 and 66 below. The provenance of the picture is established by an inscription on the back of the canvas giving the name of a former owner: Don Pedro Antonio González de Garnica; the location: Toledo; and the year: 1708. Little is known about the former owner, except that he was a member of the Fraternity of Prebendaries (La Hermandad de Racioneros) at the Cathedral of Toledo in the years 1718-1723.

Despite the anatomical anomalies, evidently adopted by Sassoferrato from his Raphaelesque model, the picture correctly conveys the inherent religious symbolism: the Child's gaze is focused on the flowers issuing from a single stem that he holds in his right hand. They symbolize his future suffering. His expression indicates to the viewer the infant Christ's understanding of the nature of his divinely ordained mission. By firmly grasping the stem he indicates his full acceptance thereof. Equally well conveyed is the Virgin's expression of wonderment at her son's precocious discernment, tinged with sadness at the cruel fate awaiting him. The seven flowers in the Virgin's right hand, arranged in the form of a fan, symbolize her seven sorrows.





A version attributed to the school of Sassoferrato at the Israel Museum in Jerusalem
Oil on canvas, 29 x 25 cm

SCHOOL OF SASSOFERRATO, ISRAEL MUSEUM IN JERUSALEM

A copy attributed to the school of Sassoferrato (Giovanni Battista Salvi, 1609-1685).

Purchased in New York by Sam Weisbord (1912-1986) in 1981, it passed to the Israel Museum in Jerusalem by bequest in 1986.

The picture bears a strong resemblance to a version from the collection of the Duchess de Talleyrand, Lyndhurst Residence in Irvington, New York, as shown on a photograph taken on 9 October 1943.¹ Little more can be said about the Irvington picture until a higher-resolution image becomes available.

In another composition of the same type in a private Roman collection, the Virgin is said to be wearing a red robe.²



¹ Photograph at the National Archives in New York, call no. LC-G612- 44124.

² Stefano Papetti, 'The Papal Painter. Paintings of Sassoferrato owned by Clement XIV, Pius VII and Pius IX', in exh. cat. *Il Sassoferrato, La Devota Bellezza*, Sassoferrato, Palazzo degli Scalzi e Museo di Santa Chiara (2017), fig. 2, p. 21.



A version in the style of Sassetto in a private collection in Germany
At right is the author's photograph of the painting in its frame (behind glass).
Oil and tempera on canvas, stretched on an oak panel, 330 x 275 mm.

SCHOOL OF SASSOFERRATO FROM THE THOMÉE COLLECTION

A version in the style of Sassoferrato in a private collection in Germany. An expert report issued by Hermann Voß on 12 October 1927 concludes: “Es ist ein charakterisches Werk von Sassoferrato.” The picture was purchased in 1930 at auction (Veit - Cologne) by Fritz Thomée (1862-1944), former Landrat of Altena, Germany (1901-1927). In monograph on the collection by Kurt Luthmer, it is described as follows:

Madonna mit Kind (nach einer verschollenen und im Kupferstich noch erhaltenen Original-Madonna mit der Nelke des Raffael). Maria läßt das auf ihrem Schoß sitzende Kindlein, dem ein Kissen untergeschoben ist, mit einer Nelke spielen. Sie sitzt nach rechts hin, wo im Hintergrund ein halbes Fenster ferne Berglandschaft zeigt.

Das Bild zeigt pastellhaft zarte Farben, die eigenartig zueinanderstehen: Das Kleid der Maria ist heliotropfarben mit zargelben Ärmeln und Besatzstreifen. Über dem Schoß liegt ein lapislazuliblaues tuch, das Kissen ist matt kupfrig. Das Inkarnat steht mit zarten Crêmetönen vor dumpfbraunen und -grünem Hintergrund. Gut erhalten bis auf kleine Ausbesserungen am Knie des Kindes.¹

The painting is discussed in a doctoral dissertation by Werner Marks.²

The portrayal of the Madonna's visage and parted lips suggests that the artist was influenced by exemplars of the London type. The poor handling of the Child's trunk and legs, the oversized ears of both figures and generally inferior workmanship exclude the possibility that the work could have originated from Sassoferrato's studio, or even his close circle.



¹ Kurt Luthmer, *Die Sammlung Thomée*, (Marburg/Lahn, 1931), p. 70 and pl. 88.

² *Die Sammlung Thomée: Geschichte und Kunstwerke* under the supervision of Prof. Hartmut Krohm of Berlin's Technischen Universität, submitted in 2007.



A version in the style of Sassetto at auction at Versailles, Palais des Congrès, 1979
Oil on canvas, 450 x 330 mm

A VERSION AT AUCTION IN VERSAILLES IN 1979

A version sold at Versailles, Palais des Congrès on 18 November 1979 as school of Sassoferrato.¹

The fine modelling of the two figures is typical of other versions of this composition, securely attributed to Sassoferrato. Based on the limited visual evidence available, an attribution to Sassoferrato's workshop is plausible. The appearance of the flowers is reminiscent of Sassoferrato's painting in Detroit (cat. no. 60). The illustration contained in the catalogue appears to have been cropped, perhaps due to being photographed without removing the frame, as no artist, least of all Sassoferrato, would have constrained the two figures in such an inadequate space.

1 *Dessins, aquarelles, gouaches, tableaux anciens, etc.*, lot 5; commissaires-priseurs: Jean-Paul Chapelle/Paul Perrin/Dominique Fromantin.



Lempertz, Munich, 26 May 1989, lot 82
Oil on panel, 295 x 230 mm

A VERSION AUCTIONED AT LEMPERTZ IN MUNICH IN 1989

Attributed to a 16th century Italian artist, the panel is remarkable for its depiction of the drapery folds on the Virgin's right thigh, which help to guide the eye of the viewer towards its junction with the hip. The lack of such detail and the consequent ambiguity regarding the inclination of the thigh, is a problem inherent in other versions including the one in London. The Virgin's serene expression, befitting the scene that she is witnessing, is one of deep affection, combined with concern for the destiny that her divine son has chosen to accept. No inappropriate smile crosses her lips and her teeth remain hidden from view.

The artist has struggled with a naturalistic depiction of the curtain, for which he chose a brown colour, rather than the more common green, and has given the knot an angular, almost wooden appearance. The castle in the background appears to include a terrace on the right, albeit poorly legible behind the yellowed varnishes. This terrace is only perfunctorily indicated in the London version, but is depicted in early engravings such as that of Boulanger (cat. no. 4). A much-needed cleaning would no doubt reveal further interesting details.

The painting reappeared on the German art market in 2018.¹

1 Lempertz, *Old Master Paintings and Drawings*, 16 May 2018 (auction 1108, lot 1011).

70



Loreto - Casaforte
Oil on canvas, 370 x 320 mm

A VERSION AT LORETO - CASAFORTE

A version in Loreto; it is not on public display but is kept in the locked depository known as “casaforte.” Floriano Grimaldi has argued for an attribution to an anonymous sixteenth-century painter from Emilia.¹ If so, the addition of the loincloth could have occurred in reaction to the strictures imposed by the Council of Trent in 1563. Although the painting is of little artistic merit, the background visible through the window has a more readable representation of the ruins and landscape than the London picture. To the left of the large crenelated tower is a smaller one with a retaining wall, and the rock face along the path leading up to the ruins catches the sun’s rays..



Background (detail) -
National Gallery, London



Background (detail) -
Loreto, Casa Santa - casaforte

¹ Floriano Grimaldi, *Loreto. Palazzo Apostolico* (1977).

71



A version from the Wildenstein Gallery in Paris, 2 September 1954

A VERSION FROM THE WILDENSTEIN GALLERY IN PARIS

Little is known of this version, known only from a photograph from the collection of Bernard Berenson at Villa i Tatti near Florence. A note on the back of the photograph mentions the Wildenstein Gallery in Paris and the date 2 September 1954. Its dimensions are given as 12½ x 10 inches (about 317 x 254 mm).

From the vertical split we can deduce that it is painted on a wooden panel. It is clearly the work of a skilled artist, who has chosen to depart from unsatisfactory models to depict a sprightly Child, slimmer and better proportioned than the one in London. Remarkable is the attention paid to the hands, both of the Child and of the Virgin; the joints of the Child's fingers are correctly represented, as is the thumb of the Virgin's right hand and both of the Child's feet. His hair glistens with reflected light and curls in a realistic way above the ear. He gazes directly at the flowers he's holding in his right hand, focusing his entire attention on them. The Virgin's face is less well modelled, giving her a bland expression, but her hair is portrayed with considerable skill and with appropriate highlights. The scene visible through the window also differs from the standard one; the ruined fortress is now flanked by a church and a bell tower rises in the distance. The visual field extends further to the right than in the London picture, allowing the top of the arch above the window to be shown.



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A version known as "La Madonne Chatron" in a private collection in Nice
Oil on canvas, transferred from panel, 56.5 x 48.5 cm.

A VERSION IN A PRIVATE COLLECTION IN NICE

This atypical version in a private collection in Nice was brought to public notice in 1936 by the art critic Pierre Borel.¹ It has been dubbed “La Madonne Chatron” in honour of its first known owner, Dr. Joseph Antoine Chatron (1805-1876), who may have received it as a gift from a close family acquaintance, Napoleon’s niece Charlotte Bonaparte Gabrielli.

Tests performed in recent years have confirmed the presence of an underdrawing. The pigments, consistent with sixteenth-century usage, include lead white, natural ultramarine, lead and tin yellow, azurite, carbon black, vermilion, calcite and smalt, as well as a green pigment derived from copper, either malachite or verdigris. A number of pentimenti have been identified, including a change in the position of the Christ Child’s right foot. The painting will be the subject of an in-depth study to be published by a team of scholars, including Laure Chevalier and Philippe Walter.²



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Unconventional details, such as the faint glow issuing from the Child’s head, substituting for a traditional halo, bespeak an artist intent on recasting Raphael’s composition into his own idiom, while remaining true to its deeper meaning – as attested by the Virgin’s expression, which befits the occasion.

Left above: Detail of the Virgin’s neck and mouth.

Left below: One of several pentimenti – a change in the position of the Christ Child’s right foot.

¹ Report in *L’Éclaireur de Nice* (1936) by its editor-in chief, the art critic Pierre Borel; report in *France-soir*, 13 February 1957 by its art editor Jean-Paul Crespelle; comments by George Isario in *Combat*, 18 February 1957; report by Christophe Cirone in *Nice Matin*, 28 March 2021.

² Private communication from Laure Chevalier, 20 July 2021.

CHAPTER III: UNCATALOGUED

In presenting the surviving evidence for Raphael's lost painting, it was deemed advisable to exclude from the main catalogue versions of inferior quality that contribute little to our knowledge. Given the fact that a number of them have appeared in lists of copies compiled by scholars such as Johann David Passavant, Grgo Gamulin, Nicholas Penny and Jürg Meyer zur Capellen, it has seemed appropriate to present them here, if only to save other researchers the effort of trying to document them.

A



Private collection
Oil on copper, 24.2 x 20.3 cm.

A COPY ON COPPER FROM THE EARL OF DUDLEY'S COLLECTION

A small copy in oil on copper, from the collection of the Earl of Dudley. Being one of the few copies to have preserved the fold of drapery between the Virgin's legs, on which the Child's left foot is resting, its may derive from the version in Brescia (cat. no. 20) or from that at Lulworth Castle (cat. no. 19).

In 1943 the painting passed by inheritance from Sir Michael Shaw Stewart (1826-1903) to his great-grandson Niel W. Rimington (1928-2009), who loaned the picture for an exhibition at the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery entitled "Italian Art from the 13th century to the 17th century" (18 August - 2 October 1955, no. 50). It was auctioned by Christie's London on 9 July 2010.

The quality of execution is mediocre. While the painter has succeeded in portraying the infant Christ's fascination with the pink carnations, there is no indication of a deeper understanding of the symbolism they hold.

B



A version from the collection of Anders Zorn
Zornmuseet, Mora, Sweden
Oil on canvas, 73.6 x 62.0 cm

ZORNMUSEET, COLLECTION OF ANDERS ZORN,

This large canvas, measuring 736 x 620 mm, was acquired in 1912 from a Stockholm art dealer by the painter Anders Zorn (1860–1920). The following details are taken from an announcement published in a Swedish art journal.¹

Zorn deemed his picture to be an original work of Raphael, based on the character of the brushwork and certain pentimenti. For example, the child's left arm was at first less bent than in the finished painting. Zorn pointed out that the carnations were added after the paint on the rest of the painting had dried. Comparing the carnations' distinctive contours and the rather vague and indeterminate modelling of the child's hand holding them, he suggested that the flowers were set up as a free-standing model – perhaps in a glass vase – and that the artist here used his brush as if he were painting a still life. The author of the 1912 article continues:

The panel belongs to Raphael's Florentine period, when Umbrian influence is still in evidence. It is thought to have been painted around 1506. The colour of the Madonna's bodice and skirt is blue and corresponds with the slightly darker blue of the sky in the landscape in the upper right corner. Along the Madonna's bosom runs a stripe of white linen, and parallel to it runs a yellow border of the blue bodice. ... The landscape shows a palace of Renaissance character. The tree is rather vaguely indicated. The canvas is slightly damaged in several places, but on the whole very well preserved. Isolated patches of overpainting have been removed by the new owner.

Although a late copy, probably originating from the first half of the eighteenth century, the psychological portrayal of the two figures is convincing – the Virgin's expression of tender concern indicates that she is well aware of the terrible fate that awaits her divine Son. His firm grasp of the flowers, which he regards with a deep understanding of their symbolic meaning, indicates that he has fully accepted his divinely ordained mission.

It is truly remarkable that even a late copy of unremarkable artistic merit better expresses the underlying theological meaning of the composition than the supposed original in London.

¹ Knut Barr, "Rafaels 'Madonnan med nejlikan'. Zorn förklarar sig äga originalet" in *Konst och konstnärer*, vol. 3 (1912), pp. 49–50.

C



A version at Notre Dame de la Crèche et Saint Gorgon
Oil on panel, 105 x 76 cm

A VERSION AT NOTRE DAME DE LA CRÈCHE ET SAINT GORGON

One of the largest known versions, measuring over a metre in height, at the Church of Notre-Dame de la Crèche et Saint Gorgon, Craches, near Rambouillet. According to information provided by the curator, it was somewhat inexpertly restored before 1980.

Its variant colouration has led Nicholas Penny to conclude that it was painted on the basis of an engraving,¹ which can be identified as that of Jean Boulanger (cat. no. 4). The red colour of the tunic may be derived from La Belle Jardinière in the Louvre.

Despite the painting's relatively poor quality, the inward slope of the Virgin's outspread legs is well represented, avoiding the kind of awkward anatomical issues present in the NG London version and its derivations.

According to information provided by M. René Lamarche, the painting was given to the church c. 1845 by the Duchesse de Montmorency, mother of Comte de la Rochefoucault (letter in the Louvre archives, dated 14. February 1986).

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Gaillard, *Craches*, in *Pays d'Yvelines, de Hurepoix et de Beauce*, no. 21 (1977), p. 61.

Julia Fritsch, "Trois peintures conservées dans les églises de Craches, Sonchamp et Bonnelles" in *Bulletin Monumental*, vol. 148, no. I (1990), p. 96.

¹ Nicholas Penny, "Raphael's 'Madonna dei garofani' rediscovered, *Burlington Magazine* 134 (1992), pp. 67-81.

D



A version on canvas in Parma, Ospedale Maggiore
Oil on canvas, 68 x 58 cm

A VERSION ON CANVAS IN PARMA, OSPEDALE MAGGIORE

A relatively large version on canvas at the Ospedale Maggiore in Parma, of late sixteenth, but more likely of mid-seventeenth-century Lombard provenance.

The view through the window opens on an orderly sequence of walls and fortifications, as in the Boulanger engraving (cat. no. 4), on which the present picture appears to depend.

The artist has improvised with the colouring of the Virgin's dress, and merged her skirt, depicted as golden yellow in most versions, with the blue cloth spread over her lap. Along with the reverse orientation, this strongly suggests that the painting is based on an engraving. The Virgin's facial features, as well as the portrayal of the structures visible through the window points to the Boulanger engraving as the source. There is similarity to the painting at Craches (above, letter C), however the execution is more refined and the artist has chosen a more subtle palette.

Being in a poor condition due to extensive abrasions and successive retouchings, it was restored to the extent possible in 1966 by Renato Pasqui, under the direction of Augusta Ghidiglia Quintavalle.¹

1 Marzio Dall'Acqua, ed., *Arte ospitale. Dipinti e sculture dalla Collezione dell'Azienda Ospedaliero-Universitaria di Parma*. Catalogo della mostra (Parma, 6-16 maggio 2017).

E



Casa Ugucione Ranieri in Perugia
Oil on copper, 23.0 x 18.0 cm

A VERSION ON COPPER AT CASA UGUCCIONE RANIERI, PERUGIA

Justly described as “*di fattura grossolana*” by Grgo Gamulin,¹ this small version painted on copper at Casa Uguccione Ranieri di Sorbello in Perugia was purchased in 1803 by Ludovico Bourbon di Sorbello from the Barnabite College, as an original work of Garofalo and was so listed in nineteenth-century inventories. Traditionally attributed to Frederick Gutter, a Flemish painter active in Perugia at the beginning of the seventeenth century, it was previously at the sacristy of the Jesuit church in Perugia.² It was known to Passavant and is mentioned by him in the first edition of his monograph on Raphael, published in 1839.

The Sorbello picture is evidently a simplification of an early engraving, such as that of Boulanger, given its reversed orientation, the details of the landscape, the number of flowers, the facial features of the Virgin and her veil, and particularly the colour scheme which diverges radically from any of the painted versions. The artist has simplified the composition by dispensing with the knot in the curtain. Had the Cammucini version been in Perugia until 1636, as claimed by Barberi in his 1851 catalogue (see above, under cat. no. 13), Frederick Gutter would not have had to rely on an engraving for his copy of the composition.

¹ Grgo Gamulin, *Commentari*, IX.3 (1958), p. 161.

² Claudia Pazzini, *Casa Museo di Palazzo Sorbello a Perugia* (2010), p. 134.

F



Private Collection
Oil on copper, 38.5 x 29.5 cm

A VERSION ON COPPER IN A PRIVATE IRISH COLLECTION

In view of the anomalous choice of colours, the picture can be characterised as a copy after an engraving, most likely that of Jean Boulanger (cat. no. 4). The anomalous colouring concerns not only the curtains, which are green in all other known painted versions, but also ignores the distinction between the Virgin's blue mantle covering her lap and her skirt, invariably represented as golden yellow in copies not derived from engravings. The picture appears to be of eighteenth-century vintage, is in a private Irish collection.

G



A version in the style of Sassetto at the Church of Saint-Pierre in Pommard, France
Oil on canvas, 137 x 104 cm

A VERSION AT THE CHURCH OF ST. PIERRE IN POMMARD

A large copy on canvas at the Church of Saint-Pierre in Pommard. Painted in the style of Sassoferrato, it has the distinction of a visual field that extends further downward than any other version of the composition. In other respects, such as details of the landscape, the picture closely resembles the Gollin-Oneonta version (cat. no. 63). A closer analysis must await a higher-resolution image to become available.

H



Oil on panel, 29.2 x 23.5 cm

FOLLOWER OF SASSOFERRATO, NEW YORK, CHRISTIE'S 1989

A version on panel, measuring 29.2 x 23.5 cm, sold at Christie's London on 11 January 1989, listed as "after Leonardo da Vinci"; here attributed to a follower of Sassoferrato.¹

¹ *Important Paintings by Old Masters*, Wednesday, January 11 1989, Christie's, New York.

I



Photograph by Ruslan Rusu, 9 July 2005

Musée Garinet in Châlons-en-Champagne, inv. 899-11-235
Oil on panel, 29.5 x 23.0 mm

A COPY AT MUSÉE GARINET IN CHÂLONS-EN-CHAMPAGNE

A copy on panel at Musée Garinet in Châlons-en-Champagne, acquired in 1899 by bequest of Marguerite-Victoire Garinet. The painting originates from the collection of Jules Garinet (1797-1877), who deemed the Virgin to be by Raphael and the infant Christ by Garofalo, both propositions being untenable by any objective standard. His notes on the painting (first notebook, p. 47) read as follows:

Vierge par Raphaël, enfant Jésus par Garofalo. Ce tableau provient de l'abbaye Saint-Pierre de Reims et vient du Cardinal de Guise, archevêque de cette ville.

Virgin by Raphael, infant Jesus by Garofalo. This painting comes from the abbey of Saint-Pierre de Reims and was given to the Cardinal of Guise, archbishop of that city.

The reference is to Louis de Lorraine, Cardinal de Guise (1575-1621), who was made Archbishop of Reims in January 1605. This provenance is evidently spurious, since, according to the museum's curators, the picture's style bespeaks a nineteenth-century origin. No less spurious is the attribution to Sassoferrato given in the museum's earlier inventories. The severe reduction on all sides suggests that the artist copied a painting that had not been removed from its frame.

Despite the picture's inferior quality, it regularly figures in lists of notable copies of this composition.¹

¹ Nicholas Penny, Raphael's 'Madonna of the Pinks' Rediscovered" in *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 134. no. 1067 (February 1992), p. 81; Jürg Meyer zur Capellen, *Raphael, A Critical Catalogue of His Paintings*, vol. I (2001), p.212.

J



A version on panel in Leipzig, with the frame removed
Oil on panel, 29.5 x 23.5 mm

A VERSION ON PANEL IN LEIPZIG

A version of the *Madonna of the Pinks* from the collection of Maximilian Speck von Sternburg (1776-1856) at Lützchena, near Leipzig. Purchased from the Viennese collector Count Moritz von Fries (1777-1826), probably at the occasion of the bankruptcy sale of his collection in 1826, it is listed for the first time in a catalogue of the Speck von Sternburg Collection published in 1827.¹ Nicholas Penny's suggestion that it came from the Setta Collection in Pisa cannot be confirmed.² Passavant, who saw it in Lützchena in the 1840s, described it as having an overall resemblance to the Camuccini picture, not just in terms of its colouring, but also with respect to its size.³ Its dependence on the Camuccini picture is confirmed by the third carnation in the Virgin's left hand being cut off at the limit of the painted area.

The copyist has failed to impart any grace to the Virgin's face; he has reduced the eyes to mere slits and made the mouth too narrow. The elongation of the Child's head, seen in other copies, is here carried to an extreme and made worse by an unnatural swelling of the forehead.

¹ Maximilian Freiherr Speck von Sternburg, *Verzeichniss der von Speck'schen Gemälde-Sammlung mit darauf Beziehung habenden Steindrücken* (Leipzig, 1827).

² *Maximilian Speck von Sternburg, ein europäer der Goethezeit als Kunstsammler* (Leipzig, 1998), pp. 253-54.

³ Johann David Passavant, *Raphaël d'Urbain et son père Giovanni Santi* (Paris 1860), vol. II, pp. 62-64.

K



A version on panel from Woodlands House in Germantown, Maryland
Oil on panel, 30 x 23 cm

A VERSION ON PANEL FROM GERMANTOWN

A version painted in oil on panel, until c. 1955 at Woodlands House in Germantown, Maryland, probably from the collection of Francis C. Clopper (1786-1868). Acquired by a the American collector Michael Riddick by 2014, it reappeared on the Italian art market in 2022 (Lucas Aste, Milan, February 22). Numerous particulars, such as the Virgin's deep-set eyes with prominent shadows and puffy upper eyelids, as well as the child's face and hair relate it to the version in a private collection in Zurich (cat. no. 24). However, the copyist has portrayed the Virgin with full lips and avoided showing her teeth. His handling of the landscape is perfunctory.



L



Sansoussi, Potsdam
Oil on canvas, 29 cm x 23.5 cm

A VERSION ON CANVAS AT SANSOUCI, POTSDAM

A copy on canvas on display in the Raphael Hall at Sanssouci in Potsdam. In Robert Bußler's catalogue, published in 1858 to mark the completion the hall and the installation of the exhibits, it is identified as a work of Wilhelm Wach (1787–1845),¹ presumably produced during his Roman sojourn from 1817 and 1819.² Nevertheless, the author of an annotated edition of Bußler's catalogue published in 1983 claims that the painting catalogued by Bußler is not Wach's copy, which is untraced, but one acquired by Frederick William III on his trip to Italy in 1822. It was placed in the Red Corner Room of the Royal Palace in 1823 and in the Chamois Room in 1837. In 1848 it was included in that year's Raphael exhibition, held at the Schinker Museum in Lustgarten under the auspices of Gustav F. Waagen, the first director of the Berlin Gemäldegalerie, who also wrote the catalogue.³ Waagen gives few details about the picture, stating only that it portrays the Virgin offering flowers to her infant son (*Blume... welche die Maria dem Christuskinde darreicht*) and is a copy after a version of the *Madonna of the Pinks* in the Camuccini collection in Rome, duly noting that Passavant had expressed serious doubts about the latter being an original work of Raphael.

Like most interpreters today, Waagen failed to grasp the religious import of the scene. Raphael's lost original showed the moment when the infant Christ, taking hold of a stem of flowers previously gathered by his mother, focuses his gaze on the pink petals and recognises in them the symbol of his divinely appointed mission. His expression is serious, bordering on fear, as he becomes aware of the unspeakable suffering he is to suffer in order to redeem mankind. Nevertheless, his firm grasp of the stem attests to his determination to carry out the divine will. The Virgin, conscious of her unique role in mankind's salvation, looks on with amazement. Her expression is one of tenderness, mixed with foreboding of the terrible fate awaiting the divine child sitting on her lap. It would, however, be unfair to blame Waagen for failing to remark on such nuances, since they are entirely absent from this copy, as well as from its presumed model, today at London's National Gallery. In contrast to the latter, the pictorial space extends further to the right.

- 1 Robert Bußler, *Der Rafael-Saal: Verzeichniss der im Königlichen Orangeriehause zu Sans-Souci auf allerhöchsten Befehl aufgestellten Kopien nach Gemälden von Rafael Sanzio* (Potsdam, 1858), p. 19. A second corrected edition was published in 1861.
- 2 Robert Skwirblies, *Altitalienische Malerei als preußisches Kulturgut* (Berlin, 2017), pp. 347–348 and 651.
- 3 G. F. Waagen, *Verzeichniß der Copien und der Kupferstiche nach Raphael so wie einiger Originalzeichnungen dieses Meisters welche in der Rotunde des Königlichen Museums ausgestellt worden sind* (Berlin 1848), p. 8, cat. no. 10.

M



A version in a Dorotheum sale in 2008
Oil on canvas, 30 x 23 cm

A VERSION IN A DOROTHEUM SALE IN 2008

A copy in the Old Masters Sale held at Dorotheum Palace, Vienna, on 15 October 2008

Estimated date of origin: c. 1800.

No unframed photograph is available; the edges are hidden by the frame. The picture may be a copy of Wilhlem Wach's copy at Sanssouci.



N



A version auctioned at Lempertz in Munich on 15 May 2002
Oil on panel, 28.0 x 23.0 cm

A VERSION AUCTIONED AT LEMPERTZ IN MUNICH IN 2002

A version at auction by Lempertz in Munich on 15 May 2002.

The panel seems to have been reduced on top, but preserves its original width, which provides sufficient space for the flowers in the Virgin's right hand to be fully displayed. Although the painter has simplified certain aspects, such as the view through the window, his depiction of the Virgin's head displays a degree of competence that is, unfortunately, lacking in his rendering of the child. The illumination is for the most part rendered correctly. The tree in front of the tower is solid and straight, the cliffs along the path and the left side of the tower catch the morning light.

O



Private collection of A. Schmidt-Degenardt in Munich
Oil on panel, 30.3 x 24.2 cm.

A VERSION IN A PRIVATE COLLECTION IN MUNICH

A version in oil on panel, purchased c. 1955 from the Adolf Weinmüller auctioneers in Munich by the late husband of the current owner, Mrs. A. Schmidt-Degenhardt.

The lightly cradled panel has tentatively been identified as cherry wood. An Italian inscription on the back of the panel, referring to the original being in the Camuccini collection in Rome, indicates that the painting was in Italy until the first half of the nineteenth century.

The visual field is constrained similarly to that of the London picture, and except for minor variations in the physiognomy of the figures, the two pictures correspond in practically every detail, including the braid in the Virgin's hair, her somewhat swollen neck and the chink on the window sill. However, the Virgin's smile is more understated and her teeth less visible. Ingrid Schade-Schlieder, who examined the painting at first hand, has described its craquelure and other physical characteristics in greater detail in her doctoral dissertation.¹

The Virgin's face is practically expressionless and the child's unfocused glance is reminiscent of the London version.



¹ Ingrid Schade-Schlieder, *Die Kopien der Madonna mit der Nelke von Raffael* (unpublished inaugural Ph.D. Dissertation: Würzburg, 2009), pp. 227-230.

P



Fototeca Zeri, scheda no. 7996
Oil on panel, 30 x 22 cm.

EX-COLLECTION OF JOHN RUSHOUT, BARON OF NORTHWICK

The picture formed part of the collection of John Rushout, second Baron Northwick (1770-1859) at Thirlestane House. In the 1859 catalogue of his posthumous sale it is labelled “Raffaelle: The Virgin seated with the Infant Saviour on her lap.”¹

The only known photograph is from a catalogue of paintings by the old masters sold in London in July 1964.²

The picture appears to be a seventeenth-century copy by an artist who well understood the inner sentiments of the protagonists, as stipulated by Christian tradition. The structures visible on the top right include a properly-constructed crenelated tower with raised corner bastions, not unlike that shown in Luigi Povelato’s engraving (cat. no. 5). In most other versions, including the one in London, these structural elements are vestigial.

As far as the composition, the artist has to a large extent succeeded in correctly foreshortening the Virgin’s proper right thigh. The loose fabric covering its upper half and extending over the Virgin’s lap appears to be of a darker hue and heavier consistency than the fabric covering the lower half, which follows the outlines of the leg down to the knee.

1 *Catalogue of the late Lord Northwick’s extensive and magnificent collection of ancient and modern pictures by Phillips Son & Neale; Thirlestane House, Cheltenham* (1859), page 97, lot 1044.

2 Christie, Manson and Wood, July 26, 1964.

Q



Boston Atheneum
Oil on canvas, 31.3 x 23.2 cm.

A VERSION AT THE BOSTON ATHENEUM

The Boston Athenaeum's copy of Raphael's *Madonna of the Pinks* entered the collection in 1991 as a part of the gift from the estate of Louis Agassiz Shaw of Topsfield, Massachusetts. On the back of the frame is a label from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, dated 1964. The late Curator at the Boston Athenaeum, Michael Wentworth, suspected on stylistic grounds that it might be an eighteenth-century copy, probably French.

This otherwise unremarkable copy features an improbable innovation by the copyist – a third flower on a tall stem in front of the Virgin's mouth, which appears to be the object at which the Child's gaze is directed. No further evaluation is possible unless a better image becomes available.

R



Oil on panel, dimensions unknown

A VERSION IN A PRIVATE ROMAN COLLECTION

Photograph of a version on panel, said to have been in a private Roman collection in 1966. Fototeca Zeri, scheda no. 79962.

S



A photograph of an unidentified painting, oil on canvas
from the photographic archive of Federico Zeri, no. 79963
Dimensions unknown

A PHOTOGRAPH OF AN UNIDENTIFIED PAINTING

This picture of unknown provenance is known only from a black-and-white photograph conserved at the Fototeca of Federico Zeri. The execution of certain details, such as the drapery on the Virgin's proper right thigh, appears perfunctory. Nevertheless, the expressions of the two figures, particularly that of the Child, with its concentrated gaze, as well as the Virgin's tender expression of wonderment at his prescience, indicate that the artist well understood the import of the scene.

T



Unknown location
Oil on canvas, 305 x 223 mm

COLLECTION OF DR. ADOLF GOTTSCHESKI, FLORENCE

Published by Georg Gronau in his 1909 re-edition of Adolf Rosenberg's illustrated catalogue of Raphael's paintings,¹ the picture does not appear in Rosenberg's original edition of 1906. The owner was Adolf Gottschewski (1875-1931), a German art historian from Hamburg. In those years, Gronau collaborated with Gottschewski on a German translation of Vasari's *Lives*, which was published in 1916. The picture is mentioned by Seymour de Ricci as still in Gottschewski's possession in 1913.² It was not, however included in his 1931 estate sale (*Sammlung Adolf Gottschewski*, Max Perl, Berlin, 22 April 1931).

¹ *Raffael, des Meisters Gemälde in 275 Abbildungen* (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1909), p. 201.

² Seymour de Ricci *Description raisonnée des peintures du Louvre* (Paris, 1913), p. 138.

U



Private collection
Oil on canvas, 31 x 24.5 cm

A VERSION ON THE ROMAN ART MARKET IN 2021

A version painted in oil on a walnut panel, on the Roman art market (Babuino) on 18 May 2021. The lot notes state that it came from a villa belonging to a noble Roman family.

The indistinct features of the two figures and the lack of attention to detail are reminiscent of the version from the Florentine collection of Adolf Gottschewski (below, letter T).

On the back is a stamp and a wax seal attesting to an export permit issued during the reign of Emperor Francis I of Austria (1804-1835).

The frame is datable to the nineteenth century.



V



Private collection
Oil on panel, 33 x 24.5 cm.

A VERSION FROM THE ROBERT VAN DROOGENBROECK COLLECTION

This poorly-preserved copy on panel, apparently of seventeenth century vintage, was on the art market in Monaco (HVMC-Hôtel de Ventes Monte Carlo, 27 April 2019).



W



Private collection
Oil on panel, 42.5 x 32 cm.

A VERSION FROM A PRIVATE COLLECTION IN PALERMO

Despite its poor condition and the rather stylised form of the figures, the picture is remarkable in that the artist, probably working in Flanders in the late seventeenth century, succeeded in convincingly foreshortening the Virgin's right thigh.

Until its appearance in the catalogue of Gregory's auction house in Bologna on 20 November 2015, the picture was known only from a black-and-white photograph, sent in 1920 by its owner, Cav. Guido Russo Perez, a resident of Palermo, to Bernard Berenson, with an attribution to Garofalo (see below). The photograph is today in the Berenson Fototeca at Villa I Tatti near Florence.



X



Holburne Museum of Art
Bequest of Miss Mary Anne Barbara Holburne, 1882, acc. no. A94
Oil on panel, 39 x 31 cm

A PAINTING AT THE HOLBURNE MUSEUM OF ART

An apparent derivation of the painting discussed above (letter W) is on display at the Holburne Museum of Art. The artist, probably of Flemish origin, has taken liberties with the landscape by depicting the Holy Family's flight into Egypt in the scene visible from the balcony occupied by the Virgin and her Child. The pictorial space is severely constrained. Furthermore, the artist has flattened the figures and failed to reproduce the effective foreshortening of the Virgin's right leg, so distinctive of the Palermo picture.

Y



Berlin, Gemäldegalerie, inv. no. Dep. 21FV
Oil on canvas, 52 x 41.5 cm

A VERSION AT THE BERLIN GEMÄLDEGALERIE

An atypical reinterpretation of the lost original by an unknown artist from c. 1600. The curtains cover the entire background and no window is depicted. The composition is correct, as is the iconography. Further comments must await a better image.

Z



An unidentified version in the Girolamo Bombelli photo archive
Present location and dimensions unknown

A VERSION DOCUMENTED IN THE BOMBELLI ARCHIVE

An unidentified version from the photographic archive of Girolamo Bombelli at Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e Documentazione in Rome (no. E78351).

This free adaptation of Raphael's composition extends the pictorial space so as to represent the upper curve of the arch in full. Instead of flowers, the child holds in his hand a branch, perhaps as an allusion to the Tree of Jesse referred to in the Book of Isaiah, a symbol of Jesus' noble ancestry. The flowers in the Virgin's left hand are roses, rather than carnations. The artist has paid great attention to the drapery, whose intricate folds catch the light in a convincing way. The landscape in the background is depicted in a more naturalistic way than in the London picture. While the composition is anatomically correct, with the Virgin's right leg appropriately foreshortened, the iconography is indeterminate, the Virgin appearing oddly distant and disengaged.

AA



Present location and dimensions unknown

A VERSION FROM THE ALBERT JAFFÉ COLLECTION

A simplified version from the Hamburg collection of Albert Jaffé (1842-1920), sold by Rudolph Lepke's art auction house in Berlin on 15 October 1912.¹

¹ *Sammlung Albert Jaffé, Hamburg, vol. I: Gemälde des 15. bis 19. Jahrhunderts*, (Berlin, 1912), cat. no. 1651.

AB



Private collection, Switzerland
Oil on panel, 61 x 45.5 cm.

A VERSION IN A PRIVATE COLLECTION IN SWITZERLAND

This rather atypical version appears to originate from a Spanish artistic milieu. Recent testing of the pigments has indicated the presence of lapis lazuli in the area of the Virgin's robe; pigment tests are consistent with an origin of the work in the early sixteenth century.

AC



Loreto, Casa santa
Oil on canvas, 75 x 50 cm

A VERSION AT LORETO, CASA SANTA

We shall pass without comment this version at Casa Santa in Loreto that could pass for a caricature of Raphael's composition – notwithstanding Floriano Grimaldi's bewildering attribution of the picture to Luca Longhi (1507-1580).¹

¹ Floriano Grimaldi in *Loreto: Art and History* (1975), cat. no. 167.

AD



Oil on panel
Dimensions unknown

THE COLLECTION OF PIETRO FORESTI DA CARPI

A version on panel, in an elaborate gilded frame. The quality of the only available image does not allow a qualified evaluation, however the Virgin's heavy eyelids are reminiscent of cat. no. 57 (Brunsvik Collection), while the child's sideways, almost furtive, glance is close to cat. no. 70 (Loreto-Casaforte).

The picture was sold at auction in Milan by Lino Pesaro auctioneers, on 12-17 May 1913.

Bibliography:

Catalogue de la Galerie et du Musée appartenant à Mr. le Chevalier P. Foresti de Carpi (Milan, 1513) p. 18 item 68 and pl. V.

AE



Present location unknown
Oil on panel, 30.5 x 24 cm.

A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY FLEMISH VERSION

The picture is a free adaptation, rather than a simple copy, of the lost Urbild. The background is reinvented in its entirety and the flower held by the infant Christ is something other than a carnation. Its religious significance is, nevertheless, the same. The Virgin's expression, which should be one of resigned prescience, verges on aloofness; more convincing is the portrayal of the child's fascination with the flower that he is grasping with this right hand, as well as his comprehension of its meaning. Whatever its artistic merits, the painting intelligibly portrays the moment in which the infant Christ grasps the import of his earthly mission.

Sold on 19. November 1997, Finarte, Milan, lot 115, auction no. 1026: *Dipinti antichi e tre tavole del 15 Secolo per incarico dell'Istituto bancario San Paolo di Torino*.

AF



Corsham Court
Watercolour on paper, 29.2 x 22.9 cm

A REPRODUCTION OF A VERSION FORMERLY AT CORSHAM COURT

A copy in watercolour, executed in Florence in the 1830s, after an oil painting purchased there by the Rev. John Sanford. The oil painting was catalogued at Corsham Court in 1838 as “Virgin and Child by Raphael, or Benvenuto Garofalo.”¹ It was purchased by the dealer John Lewis Rutley at an auction at Christie’s in London on 9 March 1839 (lot 80), at which occasion it was described thus: “The Virgin seated, with the Infant on her knee, to whom she is offering a flower; this exquisite little picture has been attributed to Garofalo.” (Private communication from the late James Methuen-Campbell, 27 July 2005).

The green drapery hanging on the left with its large knot is rendered in a convincing way, as is the blue drapery covering the Virgin’s lap, its folds displaying a greater richness than in the Camuccini picture. The landscape visible in the background, representing a bridge over a river, is so atypical as to give rise to the suspicion that it was invented by the artist who produced the watercolour. The pose of the child and the shape of his head are analogous to the version at the Palazzo Spinola in Genoa (cat. no. 54).

¹ Benedict Nicolson, “The Sanford Collection” in *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 97, no. 628 (Jul., 1955), pp. 207–214.

AG



Present location unknown,
Oil on copper, 28.7 x 22.7 cm

A VERSION ON COPPER IN A PRIVATE ROMAN COLLECTION

Known only from a photograph in the Fototeca Zeri (scheda 79939), this version on copper, despite its questionable artistic merit, well expresses the religious meaning of the composition. The Virgin is amazed by her son's prescience, as he contemplates the flowers that symbolise his destiny, grasping them firmly with his proper right hand. No teeth are visible between the Virgin's slightly parted lips.



AH



Private collection
Oil on copper, 29.3 x 23.8 cm

A VERSION ON COPPER FROM A GERMAN COLLECTION

A version on copper on the German art market in Düsseldorf (9 September 2023) and subsequently in Bamberg (26 July 2024). The attribution to Raphael's pupil Gianfrancesco Penni, indicated on the decorative frame, is specious. The unknown eighteenth-century artist has rendered the Raphael-esque composition in his own individual style, while managing to preserve its religious import. The infant Christ recognizes in the flowers the symbol of his earthly mission and holds them tightly in his grasp with his proper right hand, signifying his acceptance thereof. He his mother looks on with a mixture of affection, wonderment and resignation to the divine will.



AI



Private collection
Oil on canvas, 46.4 x 36.9 cm

A VERSION ON THE LONDON ART MARKET IN 1998

According to an inscription on the back of the frame, the picture was purchased at the Bitteswell Hall Sale (Leicestershire) on 12 July 1926.

Anonymous sale, London, Sotheby's, 20 February 1998, lot 70.

CHAPTER IV: UNTRACED

1. The earliest written reference to the composition known as *Madonna of the Pinks* is found in an inventory of the Roman residence of Cardinal Silvestro Aldobrandini (1590-1612), compiled in 1606.¹ Among the items listed is:

Un quadretto ovè dipinta una Mad.^a con il Bambino Giesù che sta seden. sopra ad un cuscino bianco e vol pigliare un ramo de garoffoli che tiene la Mad^a nelle mani, viene da Raffaello, copiata d'Archita Ricci da Urbino, con cornige tutte dorate.

Though only sixteen years of age at the time, Silvestro had already been cardinal for three years and for the previous year Governor of Sanseverino, a town in the Marche not far from Urbino. This might explain why the inventory lists a number of paintings by two contemporary artists from Urbino, Alessandro Vitali and Archita Ricci. Little is known of Archita Ricci's life. He was born in Lucca and was active in Umbria and Rome at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries, mainly in the service of the Borghese family in Rome.

2. An inventory of the Giustiniani Gallery drawn up in 1638 lists as item no. 167 "*un quadro piccolo di una Madonna e Christo bambino dipinto in tela di in un palmo in circa si crede della Scuola di Raffael d'Urbino con cornice bianca.*"² The Giustiniani gallery was sold in 1812 to the Parisian art dealer Fèrréol de Bonnemaïson, and later, as a whole, to the King of Prussia, but the Raphael Madonna was not included in this sale. Already by 1808 it had passed into the hands of François Duval (1776-1854), then residing in St. Petersburg. In a manuscript inventory of his collection, drawn up by Duval in St. Petersburg on 11 November 1808, he attributed the picture to Garofalo:

B(envenuto) Garofalo (11 x 8¾); La Sainte Vierge avec l'enfant Jésus sur ses genoux; composition dans le goût de Raphaël, d'une simplicité d'expression charmante. Jésus tient un œillet de sa main droite qu'il semble l'offrir à sa

¹ Archivio Doria Pamphilj in Rome, Fondo Aldobrandini, busta 30, ff.1- 15, published by Laura Testa, "Novità su Carlo Saraceni: la committenza Aldobrandini e la prima attività romana" in *Dialoghi di Storia dell'Arte*, 7, (1998), pp.130-137. See also Francesca Cappelletti, "Una nota di beni e Qualche aggiunta alla storia della collezione Aldobrandini" in *Storia dell'Arte*, 93/94 (1998), pp. 341-347.

² Archivio di Stato di Roma, Giustiniani estate, portfolio 16, cited in Luigi Salerno, "The Picture Gallery of Vincenzo Giustiniani" in *The Burlington Magazine*, vol. 685 (April, 1960), p. 144 (inv. no. 167).

*mère. Elle a la même fleur dans sa main gauche passée derrière l'enfant. De la galerie de Justiniani. Sur toile.*³

When Duval returned from St. Petersburg in 1816, he brought his collection of paintings to Geneva. In a work published in 1840 Abraham Constantin described Duval's picture as being "*absolument semblable*" to the version then in the collection of Vincenzo Camuccini in Rome.⁴ J. D. Passavant, who saw Duval's version in Geneva in 1844, describes it as "*une bonne copie, plus chaude de ton que les autres, mais qui n'est pas très finie de dessin.*"⁵

The following year Duval sold the bulk of his collection to the Comte de Morny, who commissioned the art expert M. Meffre to write a descriptive sales catalogue with selected engravings.⁶ It was auctioned in London through Phillips on 12 May 1846 – however no corresponding picture is included among the 117 paintings that make up the sale catalogue.⁷

3. A version in the collection of Cardinal Antonio Barberini, listed in an inventory of his possessions drawn up in 1644 as "*un quadretto in tavola con la madonna a sedere con il bambino in grembo, con garofali in mano, di mano di Raffaello con cristallo davanti.*"⁸ The picture is again recorded in the posthumous inventory of his nephew Maffeo Barberini in 1686, and for the last time in an inventory of the possessions of his granddaughter, Cornelia Costanza, taken in 1739. Patricia Cavazzini and Pier Ludovico Puddu have argued that this version was acquired by Pietro Camuccini by c. 1812 and is thus to be identified with the picture at the National Gallery in London.⁹
4. A version sold at auction in Paris on 19 April 1776, described as "*Une autre belle copie de Raphael, de 10 pouces 6 lignes de haut [284 mm], sur 9 pouces [244 mm] de large ; son sujet est la Vierge & l'Enfant Jésus qui tiennent des fleurs.*"

³ François Duval, "Catalogue de mes tableaux avec le prix qu'ils m'ont coûté.... Saint-Petersbourg, le 11 novembre 1808" (ms. in the archive of Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva) p. 20, no. 62) as cited by Mauro Natale in *Le Goût et des collections d'art italien à Genève du XVIIIe au XXe siècle* (Geneva, 1980), p. 53 and no. 36, and idem, *Raphaël et la seconde main* (Geneva, 1984), p. 182.

⁴ *Idées italiennes sur quelques tableaux célèbres* (Florence, 1840), p. 152.

⁵ *Raphaël d'Urbain et son père Giovanni Santi* (Paris, 1860), vol. II, p. 63

⁶ *Catalogue de la belle collection de tableaux des écoles Italienne, Flammande, Hollandaise et Française connue sous le nom de la Collection de M. Duval, de Genève. Par M. Meffre, Expert* (Paris, 1846).

⁷ For further information on this sale see also "Note sur la vente de la collection de tableaux de mon frère François Duval de Morillon" by Jacob Duval in Geneva, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire, ms. suppl. 888, ff. 131-133.

⁸ Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, *Seventeenth-Century Barberini Documents and Inventories of Art* (New York, 1975), p. 174, no. 452.

⁹ Patrizia Cavazzini and Pier Ludovico Puddu, "The Provenance of Raphael's 'Madonna of the Pinks'" in *The Burlington Magazine* no. 160 (October 2018), pp. 833-839.

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5. A version sold in Paris on 11 June 1776, described as "*La Vierge dite à l'Oeillet, bonne copie d'après Raphaël. Peinture sur cuivre. Hauteur 10 pouces 6 lignes [284 mm] largeur 8 pouces 6 lignes [230 mm].*" Seller M. Sauvage, Secrétaire du Roi. Lugt no. 2558.
6. A version sold at auction in Paris on 8 July 1777, described as: "*La Vierge ayant sur ses genoux l'Enfant Jésus, qui tient un oeillet, bon tableau d'après Raphaël. On en connoit l'Estampe gravée par Boullanger, sous le nom de la Vierge à l'oeillet. Peinture sur toile, dix pouces six lignes de haut [284 mm] sur huit pouces [217 mm] de large.*" Lugt no. 2722
7. *La Vierge à l'Oeillet, d'après Raphael, sur cuivre, 10 sur 7 pouces de largeur.* 7 May 1778 and following days.
8. A version seized in Turin in 1801 during the Napoleonic occupation of Italy, described as: "*La Vierge présente un oeillet à l'enfant Jésus.*" It arrived in Paris on 28 July 1801; it is, however missing from the inventories drawn up under Napoleon.¹⁰
9. A version in the collection of Robert Udney, attributed to Garofalo (Benvenuto Tisi), "*The Virgin and the Infant Jesus on her Knee holding a Carnation*". Oil on panel, 10" x 8" (254 x 217 mm). Sold through Christie's on 19 May 1804, Lugt no. 6806. Purchaser: Simpson
10. A version attributed to the school of Raphael, described as "*La Vierge et l'Enfant Jésus présentant une fleur à sa mère, école de Raphaël*". Peinture sur toile, 27 June 1808, Paris, Hôtel de Bullion. Lugt no. 7441.
11. A version on copper in the collection of the Parisian merchant Louis-Côme Landry, listed in his posthumous inventory (Paris, A.N.M.C., I/720) and sold on 29 December 1810 along with the rest of his collection: "*La Vierge et l'Enfant Jésus, d'après Raphaël: sujet connu sous le titre de la Vierge à l'Oeillet.*" Dimensions: 9 pouces 9 lignes x 8 pouces 9 lignes (264 x 237 mm). Purchased by Roger for 14 frs 40. Lugt no. 7899.
12. A version attributed to Federico Barocci, from the Dublin estate of "an English gentleman" sold through the Thomas Jones auction house to Mr. Byrne of Dublin on 18 June 1813. Catalogue description: "Virgin and Child. A beautiful copy of the celebrated picture called 'The Virgin of the Pinks' by a favourite master of the school of Raffaëlle."
13. Harry Phillips Auction House, London 17-18 May 1816, lot 184 (Lugt 8895): described in sale catalogue as "an exquisite copy."
14. Harry Phillips Auction House, London, May 1830, lot 27 (Lugt 12394). On panel, 356 x 267 mm. (1ft.2 in. x 10½ in.): "Few of the works of Raphael

¹⁰ Marie-Louise Blumer, "Catalogue des peintures transportées d'Italie en France de 1796 à 1814" in *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, année 1936, p. 321 (no. 403).

have been more frequently copied than this. These copies are in general, however, below criticism. Signor Camuccini, the painter, at Rome, has a smaller picture in the earliest manner of Raphael, but which was admitted to be cold and hard, when placed beside this. This picture appears to be a repetition, executed at a more mature age, and in a greatly improved style of art." According to the Getty Provenance Index, the seller was George Fairholme of Greenknowe (1789–1846), whose father William had been an avid serious art collector.

15. A version in the collection of William Noel-Hill, 3rd Lord Berwick (1772–1842), probably acquired by him in the course of his extended stay in Italy (as British consul in Turin and Genoa). Sold through Christie's, London, 30 May 1840. Lugt no. 15845. "The Infant seated in the lap of the Virgin, holding a pink; an exquisite design – small." Buyer: Norton
16. Drouot Sale, 27 February 1867, lot 15, "Raphaël (d'après), La Vierge à l'oeillet."
17. A version on copper, ascribed to Benvenuto Garofalo, mentioned by several nineteenth-century sources as being in Loreto, Casa Santa, Treasury.¹¹ A traveller's guide to Loreto, published in 1867 refers to it thus: "La Vierge et L'Enfant Jésus, sur cuivre, est une délicieuse copie de Raphaël exécutée par Garofalo."¹² In 1882, Crowe and Cavalcaselle described it as "a copy of a weak character on copper, falsely assigned to Garofolo."¹³
18. Macerata Pinacoteca. Based on information obtained from the curator, Anna Pieroni, in January 2005, the painting was stolen from the gallery in 1982 and has not yet been recovered. The case is being handled by the Carabinieri in Bologna. A copy has been recently found, but it is not certain that it is the one missing from the gallery's collection.
19. Sir Thomas Philipps Collection, Fenwick, Christie's sale 26 September 1964, no. 91.
20. Sotheby's sale, as by a follower of Raffaello Sanzio. London, New Bond Street, sold 28 Oct., lot 27: "The Madonna and Child ('The Madonna of the Pinks') oil on panel, 27.3 by 23 cm. (10 in. by 9 in.), an early copy, of the same dimensions, after Raphael's original of circa 1507–8 on loan

¹¹ Clement Bendetucci, "Ricerche per quadri di Raffaello donati a Loreto", *Atti e Memorie della R. Deputazione di Storia patria per le Marche*, ser. IV, vol. VII, fasc. I–II (Ancona, 1830) Anno IX. One of fifteen paintings given to the treasury by Can. Pietro Paolo Raffaelli di Cingoli on 14 June 1694.

¹² Antoine Grillot, *Itinéraire et guide de l'étranger à Lorette* (1867), p. 18.

¹³ J. A. Crowe and G. B. Cavalcaselle, *Raphael, His Life and Works*, vol. I (London, 1883), p. 344, note.

since 1991 to the National Gallery, London (L582), from the Trustees of the 10th Duke of Northumberland Wills Trust.”

21. Urbino, Casa Giovannini, according to Passavant.¹⁴ In 1908 Egidio Calzini described an old copy, in poor condition due to the intervention of restorers, originating from the Antaldi collection in Urbino, which later passed into that of the Arcangeli family of Fano, with the suggestion that it may be the one referred to by Passavant.¹⁵ The following year, the same author noted a copy of the *Madonna del Garofano* in the Viviani picture gallery in Urbino.¹⁶
22. Urbino, Budassi Collection, noted by Grgo Gamulin in 1958: “*Stando però ad una informazione avuta dal Prof. Giuseppe Marchini, soprintendente di Urbino, presso il sig. Budassi a Urbino si troverebbe una copia ignota all'Passavant.*”¹⁷
23. A version originating from the Antaldi Collection in Urbino, described by Egidio Calzini in *Rassegna bibliografica dell'arte italiana*, vol. XI (1908), pp. 99-100. It was heavily retouched, with only the head of the infant Christ and the landscape in the background being well conserved. The owners at the time were a family residing in Grottamare.
24. A copy by Wilhelm Wach (1787-1845), oil on canvas, 28 x 23 cm, probably painted in Rome in Vincenzo Camuccini's studio during Wach's stay in Rome from 1817 to 1819. The first secure reference to the painting is in an 1826 inventory of artworks belonging to the king of Frederick William III, King of Prussia.¹⁸ Until 1945 at Neuen Palais in Potsdam. In March 1946 it was registered at Moscow's Pushkin Museum and subsequently appeared on a list of paintings sent to the Soviet Republic of Georgia on 5 July 1946.¹⁹ Its current whereabouts are unknown. The Georgian National Museum has no record of it.²⁰

¹⁴ Johann David Passavant, *Raphaël d'Urbino et son père Giovanni Santi* (Paris, 1860), vol. II, p. 63.

¹⁵ Egidio Calzini, “Di una antica copia della ‘Madonna del Garfano’ di Raffaello” in *Rassegna Bibliografica dell'Arte Italiana*, vol. XI (1908), pp. 99-100.

¹⁶ Idem, “Una piccola casa dell'arte (La quadreria Viviani in Urbino)” in *Rassegna Bibliografica dell'Arte Italiana*, vol. XII (1909), p. 66.

¹⁷ Grgo Gamulin, “Una copia della Madonna del garofano,” *Commentari*, IX, fasc. 3 (July-Sept 1958), p. 161.

¹⁸ Inventar der Kunstwerke im königlichen Besitz nach 1826, fol. 20v.: “Madonna mit dem Kinde, copie nach dem Bilde von Raphael / im Besitz des Maler Camuccini 10 Frd.” Cited in Robert Skwirblies, *Italienische Malerei als preußisches Kulturgut* (Berlin, 2017), p. 348, n. 55.

¹⁹ *Die Verluste der preußischen Schlösser im Zweiten Weltkrieg, Gemälde I* (Potsdam 2004), p. 565.

²⁰ Private communication dated 11 May 2022 from Maka Burchuladze, Head of the Registration and Protection Department of the LEPL - Museums Group of the Georgian National Museum.

25. A small version in enamel on metal at the Pavlovsk Palace in Saint Petersburg.
26. A version of the composition is mentioned as being in Florence in a travel journal published in London in 1821 by an anonymous Oxonian.²¹ When visiting Basel this traveller saw in the collection of a local art dealer, Marquand Wother “a Holy Family, la Madonne de l’Oeillet, or lady of the pink, like the Madonna del Garofano of Raphael at Florence.”

²¹ Anonymous “Oxonian,” *A Trimester in France and Swisserland; A three months journey in the months of July, August and September 1820* (London, 1821), pp. 48-49.

THE MADONNA OF THE PINKS is one of Raphael's most intriguing and elusive compositions. For more than two centuries art historians have searched in vain for the lost original. Every few decades its rediscovery is announced, often with great fanfare: whether in the collection of an Italian count, a French industrialist, a Russian nobleman, or, more recently, in that of an English duke. Yet in every case the purported original has failed to withstand critical scrutiny. In relation to the latest "rediscovery," announced by Nicholas Penny in 1993, the renowned art critic Brian Sewell remarked:

"It is so exciting to have identified an important early Raphael!

All those involved in this discovery and identification are sort of preening themselves with the excitement of it.... If you have enough really eminent people going along with it, happy to be deluded, it's much more difficult to knock it off its perch. But eventually, it will tumble from its perch, because people who are not involved in the 'discovery' can be very much more dispassionate about it."

The present book sets itself the task of critically assessing seventy-two of the most significant versions of this composition, both painted and engraved. An original work of art should by definition be the source of all subsequent copies. While it is not at all uncommon for copyists to improvise, their attempts to improve the works of the great masters rarely, if ever, succeed. Rather, the original composition tends to deteriorate through successive copying until it loses not just key pictorial elements, but also the meaning that the original artist intended to convey. The version of THE MADONNA OF THE PINKS at London's National Gallery displays typical symptoms of this process. The composition has undergone a radical simplification and crucial details have been lost, giving rise to a peculiar awkwardness quite uncharacteristic of Raphael's genuine works. Perhaps more importantly, the composition's religious significance, preserved even in some of the poorer copies, is no longer legible.

Although Raphael's original is still untraced, its true magnificence is at last unveiled by the recent discovery of an ink-brush drawing done directly from the original by Electrine von Freyberg, an accomplished young German artist, during her visit to Rome in 1821.